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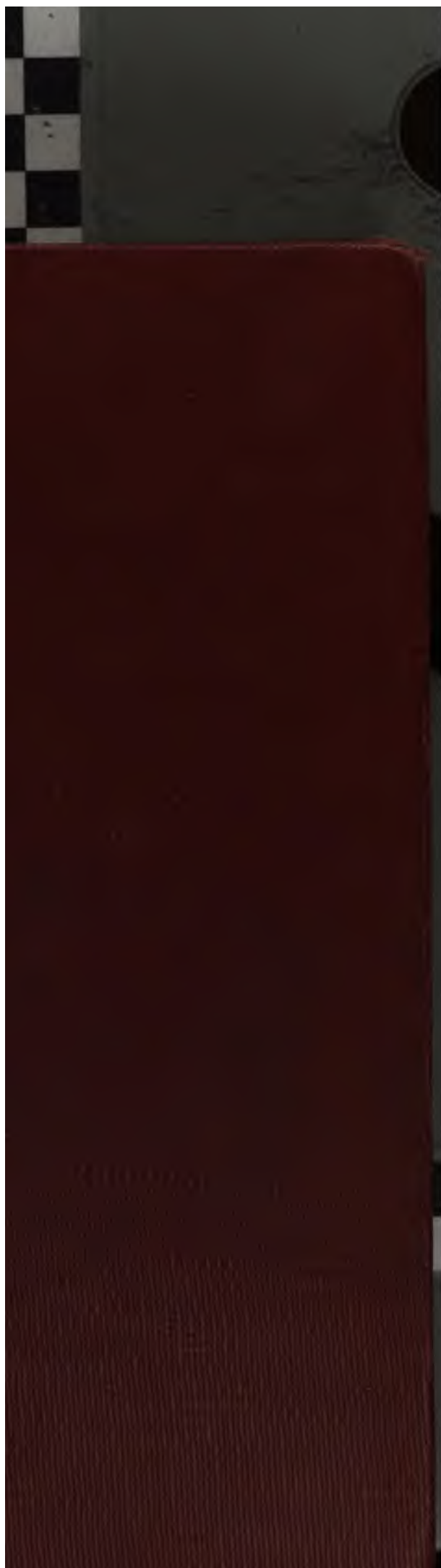
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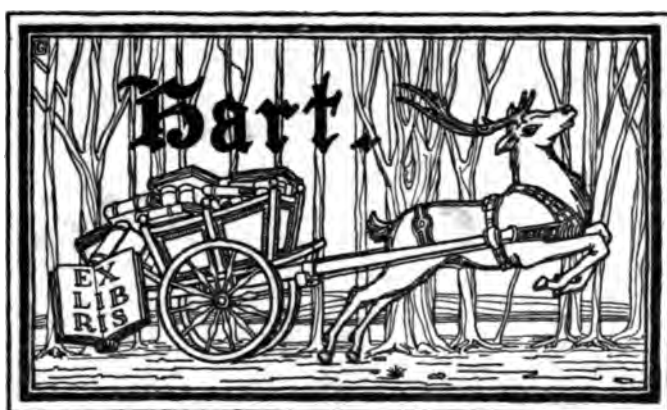


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HISTORY
OF
OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.



THE
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OF 2144
OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,
AND THE
OTHER TERRITORIES
ON THE
NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA;
ACCOMPANIED BY A
GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW AND MAP
OF THOSE COUNTRIES,
AND A NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS AS
PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY.

BY
ROBERT GREENHOW,

TRANSLATOR AND LIBRARIAN TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES; AUTHOR
OF A MEMOIR, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL, ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.
PUBLISHED IN 1840, BY DIRECTION OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"THE POSSIBLE DESTINY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AS A
NATION OF A HUNDRED MILLIONS OF FREEMEN, STRETCHING FROM THE
ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC, LIVING UNDER THE LAWS OF ALFRED, AND
SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE OF SHAKESPEARE AND MILTON, IS AN AUGURIOUS
CONCEPTION."

Coleridge's Table Talk

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TO

MY VENERABLE AND EVER KIND FRIEND,

MAJOR-GENERAL MORGAN LEWIS,

LATE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK ;

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

AS A MARK OF RESPECT AND GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE.

ROBERT GREENHOW.



PREFACE.

THE following pages are devoted, principally, to the description and history of the portion of North America bordering on the Pacific Ocean, between the 40th and the 54th parallels of latitude, which is traversed and in a great measure drained, by the River Columbia, and to which the name of OREGON is now usually applied. It has, however, been found necessary, for the objects of the work, to bestow almost equal attention on the regions embraced under the general appellation of CALIFORNIA, extending southward from the Columbia countries, to the arm of the Pacific, called the Californian Gulf; and also to take into consideration the coasts and islands north and north-west of those countries, as far as the Arctic Sea.

The vast division of America, comprehending these territories, remains, with the exception of a few isolated spots on the coasts and on the margins of the larger streams, uncultivated and inhabited only by tribes of wandering savages. Its shores and some of its rivers have been examined with care, and their course may be found delineated with considerable minuteness on maps. Of its interior regions, some have never been explored, and are indeed apparently impenetrable by man; others, which offer fewer obstacles to the traveller, are only known through the vague and imperfect accounts of traders or missionaries; and in those which have been the most frequented by civilized persons, much remains to be effected by the aid of scientific observations, in order to obtain satisfactory ideas of their geography and physical characteristics.

These territories, unoccupied, partially explored, and remote from all civilized countries, nevertheless present much that is interesting in their political history, as well as in their natural conformation and productions ; and events are now in progress which seem calculated, ere long, to attract towards them the views of the governments and people of many powerful nations.

Every part of this division of America is in fact claimed by some civilized state as its exclusive property, in virtue either of discoveries or settlements made by its citizens or subjects, or of transfer or inheritance from some other state claiming on similar grounds, or of contiguity to its own acknowledged territories. On these points, the principles of national law are by no means clearly defined ; nor is it easy to apply such as are most generally admitted, to particular cases ; nor are governments ordinarily found ready to relinquish claims merely because they prove to be unfounded, agreeably to such principles : and disputes have in consequence arisen between different nations asserting the right of possession to the same portion of Western America, which have more than once threatened to disturb the peace of the world. Attempts have been made to settle the questions at issue by negotiation ; and certain lines of boundary have been agreed on by treaties between one and another of the claimant powers : but the arrangements thus made, can scarcely in any instance be considered definitive, as they have not received, and will probably never receive, the assent of the other parties interested.

In the mean time these territories are daily becoming more important from the advancement of the population of adjoining countries towards them, and from the constant increase of the trade and navigation of several of the claimant powers in the Pacific, which would render the undisputed possession of establishments on the coasts of that Ocean most desirable for each. The difficulty of effecting an amicable partition of the territories thus becomes daily

greater, and more urgent therefore is the necessity of endeavoring to attain that end without delay.

It was principally with the object of showing the nature, origin, and extent of these various claims, that the author of the following pages composed his "Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-West Coasts of North America and the adjacent Territories,"* which was published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1840. He there endeavored to present a complete, clear and impartial view of all the discoveries and settlements, made or attempted, in those countries by civilized nations, and of all the disputes, negotiations and conventions, between different governments with respect to them, from the period when they were first visited by Europeans; founding his statements, as much as possible, upon original authorities. That Memoir is the only work hitherto published, approaching in its character to a history of the western portion of North America. The History of California,† printed at Madrid, in 1758, is devoted almost exclusively to descriptions of the Californian Peninsula, and to accounts of the missionary labors of the Jesuits, in that desolate region. The Introduction to the Journal of Marchand's Voyage,‡ which appeared in 1799, and the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes,§ published in 1802, are confined to the discoveries of European navigators on the North Pacific coasts of America, before 1793; upon which so many details have been made known, since the appearance of those works, that they are now entirely obsolete, and scarcely one of their paragraphs can be cited as correct. The Journals of Cook, La Pérouse, Vancouver, Mackenzie, Krusenstern,

* Extract from the Journal of the Senate of the United States. — "Monday, Feb. 10, 1840. On motion, by Mr. Linn — Ordered, That a History of the North-West Coast of North America and the adjacent Territories, communicated to the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory, be printed, with the accompanying map: and two thousand five hundred copies, in addition to the usual number, be printed for the use of the Senate."

† See page 105.

‡ See page 223.

§ See page 241.

Lewis and Clarke, Kotzebue, Beechey, and Belcher, all contain important information as to the geography of the countries under consideration ; but as regards the events, which lie within the province of the historian, we have only the accounts of the Astoria enterprise, by Franchère, Cox, and Irving, all interesting, yet all limited to the occurrences of three or four years. In the most popular histories of other countries, and especially of Great Britain, the circumstances relating to North-West America, are, in every material point, misrepresented, either from neglect on the part of the authors, or from motives less excusable ; and these histories, being universally read and received as true in England and in the United States, it is not astonishing, that erroneous ideas should be generally entertained by the people of both nations, upon points, which have been, and will continue to be, the subjects of discussion between their governments.

The Memoir, above mentioned, contains the outlines of the History now presented ; for which the same authorities, with many others since collected, consisting of private and official reports, letters and accounts, journals of expeditions by sea and land, and histories and state papers of various civilized nations, have been carefully examined and compared. Many errors of fact as well as of reasoning in the former work, have by this means been corrected ; and new circumstances have been brought to light, and new arguments have been founded upon them, calculated perhaps materially to modify the views of those to whom the settlement of questions relative to North-West America may be hereafter entrusted. The principal object of the author has been to present the facts relative to the discovery and settlement of those countries, fairly ; and to investigate the claims which have been deduced from them, agreeably to the immutable principles of right, and the general understanding of civilized nations : and although he fully appreciates, and endeavors in all cases to place in

their proper light, the merits of his own countrymen, and the pretensions of his own government, he is not conscious that his desire to do so, has in any case led him to the commission of injustice towards other individuals, or nations, either by misstatements, or by suppressions of the truth. In order to unite the various parts into a regular narrative, and to preserve the remembrances of events which may be interesting, if not important at future periods, he has introduced circumstances not immediately tending to the attainment of the principal objects proposed ; but he has omitted nothing voluntarily, which if made known might have led to conclusions different from those here presented. Dates and references to authorities are generally given, and always in cases where the circumstances related are new or material, or in which his accounts differ from those usually received ; and he has appended a number of documents, extracts and original notices as Proofs and Illustrations of the history. Among the latter, are some valuable papers never before published, others not commonly known, and others again which the reader will probably desire frequently to consult, including all the treaties and conventions hitherto concluded between civilized nations, with respect to the countries forming the subjects of the history.

In the geographical view he has collected, compared, and endeavored to arrange in order, what appeared to be the most exact and striking details, presented by the numerous travellers who have visited the countries in question. The map has been composed, as far as possible, from original authorities ; being intended for the illustration of the history, it necessarily embraces a very large portion of the surface of the globe, and will be found, perhaps, on the whole, more nearly correct than any other yet offered to the public.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY, 1844.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

CIRCUMSTANCES which it is unnecessary here to mention, prevented the publication of the first edition of the work in the United States for more than a year, though it was issued in London, by Mr. John Murray, in June, 1844. Congress having by a recent Act most liberally ordered the purchase of fifteen hundred copies for the use of the general government, and for distribution among the States and in foreign countries, it has been necessary to print the new edition now offered ; in which errors have been corrected, many portions, including the whole of the Geography, and nearly the whole last chapter of the History, have been written anew, and an important document has been added to the Proofs and Illustrations.

The first edition, thus published in Europe, has not remained unnoticed : it has been reviewed generally with extreme severity of language, and with corresponding looseness of criticism, in London journals, and has afforded large materials for another work on the same subject, published in Paris, under the auspices of the French government. The author, however, observes with pleasure, that in all, even the best of these articles, the reviewers carefully abstain from the most important points touched in his work ; while all his admissions are cited as definitive. On the accounts and views here presented of Drake's Visit to the North-West Coast, of the pretended British Settlement at Nootka, of the discovery and survey of the Columbia river, of the character and duration of the Nootka Convention, of the alleged reservation on the part of the British govern-

ment with regard to the restoration of Astoria — on these and other points, the London reviewers are silent, or carefully omit to notice the principal arguments adduced by the author. The same observations apply to the answer written by Adam Thom, Recorder of Rupert's Land, to the Memoir on the North-West Coast above mentioned, which was published at London, in 1843, by direction of the Hudson's Bay Company, and has been liberally distributed by its officers. The author, however, takes great pleasure in excepting the article on the same Memoir, in the British and Foreign Review, for January, 1844; which, though not less decided in its opposition to his views on the subject than the others, and far more able in every respect, is as remarkable for its fairness as for the courteous and conciliatory language employed. With regard to the contradiction in the Quarterly Review, (Sept., 1844, article on the Life of Lord Malmesbury,) of the account in page 111 of this history, of the engagement believed to have been made by the British government, in 1771, to withdraw its subjects from the Falkland Islands, the reader is simply referred to that page as amended, and to the authorities there cited.

The Memoir "on the Discovery of the Mississippi, and on the South-western, Oregon and North-western boundaries of the United States, by Thomas Falconer," published at London, in October, 1844, contains many strictures on the present history, the justice of which the author denies *in toto*; and he will, in defence, merely recommend to Mr. Falconer, the observance in future, of a few simple rules of historical composition, from which he has himself never deviated, and the propriety of which, he doubts not, will be immediately admitted. The first is — never to cite authorities at second hand, but always to examine the original book, document or map cited. Had Mr. Falconer, for instance, examined the treaty of 1803, by which France ceded Louisiana to the United States, he would not have found in it the passage describing the limits of Louisiana,

which he has quoted (page 37,) as an important passage of that treaty from Bradford's History of the Federal Government; nor would he have reprehended the author of this history, for failing to notice that passage, nor would he have founded upon its supposed stipulations, many pages of argument very logically drawn, but unfortunately vain, to prove the premeditated bad faith of the American government. Had he in like manner examined the collection of documents presented by the English and French commissaries, appointed under the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, to settle certain disputed questions of boundary in America, he would not have mistaken those commissaries, as he has, for the plenipotentiaries who signed the Treaty of Paris, in 1763; nor would he, on the faith of the inexplicable assertions of M. Duflot de Mofras, have triumphantly cited the map of Northern America, in the fourth volume of that Collection, as proving that Canada formerly extended to the Pacific, and that the Columbia river was discovered by French officers and traders, early in the last century. (See note at page 159 of this volume.) He should, also, in justice to those whose arguments he opposes, quote their expressions correctly; that is, quote their words, and not omit important passages, which are indispensable to show their true meaning, as he has done, (in his pages 65 to 68,) with regard to the views of the rights derived from discovery and occupation, presented in pages 187 *et seq.* of this history. Lastly, he should not attempt to controvert precise statements, expressed in exact terms, by vague and general assertions. Thus had he succeeded in proving that Canada extended to the Pacific — which he has most signally failed to do — he would still have been very far from redeeming the pledge given in his page 85, “to demonstrate most distinctly, that there is not the slightest foundation,” for the statement in page 276 of this history, (misquoted by him,) that at the beginning of the present century, “Louisiana stretched northward and north-westward to an

undefined extent." The word undefined was there used to show that the boundaries of Louisiana, in those directions, had not been, as on the east, definitely settled by accord of the parties interested ; and this simple statement cannot be impugned, by the assertion that Louisiana was then bounded on the north by Canada, or the Hudson's Bay territories, the limits of which were equally undetermined.

Mr. Falconer has displayed very little fairness, in his remarks on the part of this history, relating to the discovery of the Columbia, in which he omits all notice of the principal arguments in favor of the Americans, and against the assertions of Vancouver and Broughton. With regard to the bitterness which the author is said to evince towards Vancouver, he confesses, that as an American, he felt deeply, but more in sorrow than in anger, the insults heaped upon his fellow-citizens, in the journal of that distinguished navigator : he has, however, in no instance expressed those feelings, without showing the circumstances which gave rise to them ; and he has produced distinct charges of invidiousness and want of good faith, on the part of Vancouver, drawn entirely from his Journal, which it will not be easy to controvert. It may be observed, however, that Mr. Falconer rather apologizes for his countryman than defends him ; and that he does not seem disposed to admit, that Gray never saw the Columbia or was within five leagues of its entrance.

With regard to the " Exploration of the territories of Oregon, California, &c. by M. Duflot de Mofras," published recently at Paris, by order of the king, and under the auspices of Marshal Soult and M. Guizot, the author conceives himself warranted in asserting, that although it professes to be the result of long and minute observations, during a mission in those countries, and of subsequent profound researches and studies, yet the greater portion of the work is extracted from the present History and the preceding Memoir on the same subject, and it contains scarcely anything which might

not have been produced by one who had never quitted the barriers of Paris. The errors and misstatements of M. de Mofras are indeed innumerable, particularly in all that relates to the United States, towards which he appears to entertain feelings of aversion even stronger than towards Great Britain. To their discredit, history and statistics are made equally subservient ; and from the facts as thus presented, always with extreme minuteness and precision of detail, conclusions are drawn, which have at least the merit of novelty. Thus while pathetically lamenting the entire disorganization of *all* the American Republics, he finds consolation in the fact, that they *all* exhibit a general return to monarchical predilections, even the United States, "*where the tendencies of the loyalist party (?) are well known.*" He resigns the hope that France will recover her former dominions on this continent, but he is assured that "the Canadians are at this day as French as in the times of the Duquesnes and Beauharnais ;" and he confidently pronounces, that whensoever they may throw off the detested yoke of Britain, a Franco-Canadian empire will be formed, extending from the Saint Lawrence to the Pacific, and including all the British possessions and Oregon, which will be bound to France by every tie, and will afford the most important aid for the expansion of her establishments in the Pacific. This *songe diplomatique* seems to have affected the imagination of M. de Mofras most strongly, and traces of its influence are to be found in every part of his work ; of his care in citing authorities, and his ingenuity in drawing deductions suitable to these views, remarkable instances will be found in the note on page 159 of this volume.

With these preliminary remarks and explanations, the author presents his book to the public, trusting that it may prove useful, in placing the difficult questions on which it treats, in a clearer light, and may thus contribute to their just and peaceful determination.

WASHINGTON, MARCH, 1845.

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G E O G R A P H Y

OF THE

WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.



GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

GENERAL VIEW.

NORTH AMERICA borders upon three great divisions of the ocean : the Atlantic on the east — the Arctic on the north — and the Pacific on the south and west — each of which receives, either directly or through its gulfs and bays, the superfluous waters from a corresponding great section of the continent.

These three great sections of North America are unequal in extent, and different in the character of their surface. At least one half of the continent is drained by streams entering the Atlantic ; and of that half, the waters from the larger, as well as the more fertile portion, are carried by the Mississippi into the Mexican Gulf. Of the other two sections, that which borders on the Arctic Sea is probably the more extensive. The Atlantic and the Arctic sections present each a large proportion of surface, nearly plane, and comparatively little elevated above the sea ; and the line of separation between them is so indistinctly marked as to be, in many places, imperceptible. The Pacific section, on the contrary, is traversed in every part by steep and lofty ridges of highland ; and it is completely divided from the other portions by a chain of mountains, extending, in continuation of the Andes of South America, from the Isthmus of Panamá, north-westward, to the utmost extremities of the continent in that direction.

Of the Atlantic coast of America it is unnecessary here to speak particularly. The irregularity of its outline, the numerous gulfs and bays enclosed by its sinuosities, the great rivers flowing through it into the sea, the archipelagoes in its vicinity, and all its other characteristic features, may be found minutely described in many works. The only parts of this coast, to which reference will be hereafter made, are those surrounding the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson's Bay, as many of the most important discoveries on the western side of the continent have been effected in consequence of the belief in the existence of a direct navigable communication between those portions of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The Pacific coast extends from Panamá, near the 9th degree of latitude,* westward and northward, without any remarkable break in its outline, to

* All latitudes mentioned in the following pages are north latitudes, unless otherwise specially stated.

the 23d parallel, under which the Gulf of California, separating the peninsula of California from the main continent on the east, joins the ocean. From the southern extremity of this peninsula, called Cape San Lucas, situated near the entrance of the gulf, the American coast runs north-westward to the foot of Mount St. Elias, a stupendous volcanic peak, rising from the shore, under the 60th parallel; beyond which the continent stretches far westward, between the Pacific on the south and the Arctic Sea on the north, to its termination at Cape Prince of Wales, near the 64th degree.

Cape Prince of Wales, the westernmost point of America, is the eastern pillar of Bering's Strait, a passage only fifty miles in width, separating that continent from Asia, and forming the only direct communication between the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans. Beyond it, the shores of Asia and Europe have been explored in their whole length on the Arctic Sea, though no vessel has hitherto made a voyage through that sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*. The north coast of America has been traced from Cape Prince of Wales, north-eastward, to Point Barrow, near the 71st degree of latitude, and thence, eastward, more than fifteen hundred miles, though not continuously, to the Atlantic. The portion north of Hudson's Bay is still imperfectly discovered; and the interesting question whether the Arctic Sea there mingles its waters with those of the Atlantic, or is separated from them by the extension of the continent to the north pole, remains undetermined. Many circumstances, however, combine to favor the belief that a communication will be found between the two oceans, either through Fox's Channel, the northernmost part of Hudson's Bay, or through Lancaster Sound, which joins Baffin's Bay, under the 74th parallel; though there is little reason to expect that any facilities for commercial intercourse will be gained by the discovery.

The Pacific coast, between the entrance of the Californian Gulf and the Strait of Fuca, which joins the ocean under the 49th parallel, presents few remarkable indentations, and the islands in its vicinity are neither numerous nor large. North of the 49th parallel, on the contrary, the mainland is every where penetrated by inlets and bays; and many peninsulas protrude from it into the sea. In its vicinity, moreover, are thousands of islands, some of them very large, lying singly or in groups, separated from each other, and from the continent, by narrow, intricate channels. The most extensive of these collections of islands is the North-West Archipelago, nearly filling a great recess of the coast, between the 48th and the 58th parallels. Kodiak is the centre of another archipelago, on the east side of the peninsula of Aliaska; and a long line of islands, forming the Aleutian Archipelago, stretches from the southern extremity of Aliaska, westward, across the sea, in the course of the 54th parallel of latitude, to the vicinity of the opposite Asiatic peninsula of Kamtchatka. The part of the Pacific called the Sea of Kamtchatka, or Bering's Sea, north of the Aleutian chain, likewise contains several islands, situated, nearly all, close to the shores of one or the other continent.

This coast, in its whole length, from the southern extremity of California to Bering's Strait, is bordered by lofty mountains, which appear to form a continuous chain, partially broken, in a few places, by the passage across it of rivers from the interior. The mountains rise, for the most part, immediately from the sea-shore, above which they may be seen towering one, two, and even three, miles in perpendicular elevation: in

some places, however, the main ridge is separated from the ocean by tracts of lower country, as much as one hundred miles in breadth, traversed by parallel lines of hills. This ridge, for which no general name has yet been adopted,* is almost entirely of volcanic formation; being part of the great line or system of volcanoes, which extends from Mexico to the East Indies, passing along the west coast of America, from the southernmost point of California to the south-west extreme of Alaska, thence through the Aleutian Islands to Kamtschatka, and thence southward through the Kurile, the Japan, the Philippine, and the Molucca Islands. There are many elevated peaks, nearly all of them volcanoes, in every part of the chain; the most remarkable break, or gap, is that near the 46th degree of latitude, through which the Columbia rushes, at the distance of a hundred miles from the Pacific.

The great chain of mountains which separates the streams emptying into the Pacific from those flowing into the other divisions of the ocean, runs through the northern continent, as through the southern, in a line generally parallel with the shore of the Pacific, and much nearer to that sea than to the Atlantic. Under the 40th degree of latitude, where the western section of America is widest, the distance across it, from the summit of the dividing chain to the Pacific, is about seven hundred miles, which is not more than one third of the distance from the same point of the mountains to the Atlantic, measured in the same latitude.

The dividing chain south of the 40th degree of latitude has received many names, no one of which seems to have been universally adopted. It has been called, by some geographers, the Anahuac Mountains; and by that name, though entirely unknown to the people of the adjacent country, it will be distinguished whenever reference is made to it in the following pages.

The portion of the great ridge north of the 40th parallel is generally known as the Rocky or Stony Mountains. From that latitude, its course is nearly due north-westward, and gradually approaching the line of the Pacific coast, to the 54th degree, where the main chain turns more westward, and continues in that direction so far as it has been traced,—probably to Bering's Strait. Another ridge, called the Chipewyan Mountains, indeed, extends, as if in prolongation of the Rocky Mountains, from the 53d parallel, north-westward, to the Arctic Sea, where it ends near the 70th degree of latitude; but the territory on its western side is drained by streams entering that sea either directly, or passing through the ridge into the Mackenzie River, which flows along its eastern base.

The Rocky Mountains, so far as their geological structure has been ascertained, consist of primary formations, principally of granite. Though rising, in many places, from eight to sixteen thousand feet above the ocean level, they do not, in general, appear very high to the beholder, on account of the great elevation of the country at their bases. On the eastern side, within a hundred and fifty miles of the great chain, and running nearly parallel to it, are several ridges, from which the surface gradually declines, becoming more nearly plane as it approaches the Mississippi, the Red River, and Hudson's Bay. The part of the continent west of the Rocky Mountains is, as already stated, traversed, in its whole extent, by

* The author of this work ventures to propose, for the great ridge here mentioned, the name of FAR-WEST MOUNTAINS, which seems to be more definite, and in every respect more appropriate, than any other which could be adopted.

lofty ridges, separated only by narrow valleys, or plains of moderate width. The country at the base of the chain, on the Atlantic side, is probably nowhere less than four thousand feet above the level of the sea; and that on the Pacific side is doubtless much higher.

The most elevated portion of the Rocky Mountains is about the 54th degree of latitude, where the chain turns towards the west; several peaks in that vicinity have been ascertained to rise more than sixteen thousand feet above the ocean level. Many points, which are undoubtedly more than ten thousand feet in height, have been found in the portion of the dividing ridge called the Wind River Mountains, near the 42d degree of latitude, and farther south, in Long's Range, where the sources of the Arkansas River are situated.

Among these mountains, nearly all the greatest rivers in North America have their sources. Within a hundred miles of the point where the chain is crossed by the 41st parallel, rise — on the eastern side — the Missouri, the Yellowstone, the Platte, and the Arkansas, the waters of all which are carried through the Mississippi into the Mexican Gulf, and the River Bravo del Norte, which falls into the same arm of the Atlantic; while — on the western side — are found the springs of the Lewis, or Snake, the principal southern branch of the Columbia which enters the Pacific, and those of the Colorado, which terminates in the head or northern extremity of the Californian Gulf. The sources of the Platte, and those of the Green River, the largest head-water of the Colorado, are situated at opposite ends of a cleft, or transverse valley, in the Rocky Mountains, called the South Pass, in latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes, which seems destined to be the gate of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific regions of the continent. In another great cleft, called by the British traders the Punch Bowl, near the 53d parallel, overhung by the highest peaks of the chain, the northern branch of the Columbia issues from a lake, situated within a few feet of another lake, from which runs the west branch of the Athabasca, one of the affluents to the Mackenzie; and at a short distance south rises the Saskatchewan, which takes its course eastward to Lake Winnipeg, and contributes to the supply of Hudson's Bay. In many places between the 42d and the 50th degrees of latitude, the upper streams of the Missouri lie very near to those of the Columbia; but no gap or depression, which appears to offer facilities for travelling or transportation of merchandise, has been discovered in that part of the dividing chain.

The ridges between the Rocky Mountains and the great westernmost chain which borders the Pacific coast, appear to be all united with one or both of those chains, and to run, for the most part, in the same general direction, from south-east to north-west. The most extensive of these intermediate ridges, called the Snowy Mountains, is believed to stretch uninterruptedly from the Rocky Mountains to the westernmost range, and even to the Pacific, nearly in the course of the 41st parallel of latitude, dividing the regions drained by the Columbia, on the north, from California, on the south. Another ridge, called the Blue Mountains, extends northward from the Snowy Mountains to the 47th parallel, bounding the valley of the Snake or Lewis River, the southern branch of the Columbia, on the west. A lofty ridge also runs from the westernmost chain, near the 48th degree of latitude, northward, to the Rocky Mountains, which it joins near the 54th degree, separating the waters of the northern branch

of the Columbia from those of Fraser's River on the west, and constituting another natural boundary to the territory drained by the former stream. Of the interior of California, little is known with certainty: it is, however, probable that a ridge extends from the Snowy Mountains, near their junction with the Rocky Mountains, about the 42d degree of latitude, southward, to the great westernmost chain, near the 32d degree, where the Californian peninsula joins the continent, forming the western wall of the valley of the Colorado River.

The territories west of the Rocky Mountains abound in lakes, several of which present surfaces of great extent: some of them communicate with rivers; others have no outlet, and their waters are consequently salt.* The largest, called the Timpanogos, or Utah Lake, among the Snowy Mountains, between the 40th and the 42d degrees of latitude, belongs to the latter class, and is probably not less than two thousand miles in area. The most extensive of the fresh-water lakes is the Kullispelm, or Clarke's Lake, formed by the expansion of the Clarke River, in a valley surrounded by high mountains, under the 48th parallel.

The countries on the Pacific side of North America differ materially in climate from those east of the great dividing range of mountains situated in the same latitudes, and at equal distances from and elevations above the ocean. These differences are less within the torrid zone, and beyond the 60th parallel; but in the intermediate space, every part of the Pacific section is much warmer and much drier than places in the Atlantic or the Arctic sections under the same conditions as above expressed. Thus the north-westernmost regions of America appear to be as cold, and to receive as much rain and snow from the heavens, as those surrounding Baffin's Bay, or those in their own immediate vicinity in Asia; but in the countries on the Pacific side corresponding in latitude and other respects with Wisconsin, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, the ground is rarely covered with snow for more than three or four weeks in each year, and it often remains unfrozen throughout the winter. In the countries on the west coast, opposite to Virginia and Carolina, the winter is merely a wet season, no rain falling at any other time; and in the Californian peninsula, which is included between the same parallels of latitude as Georgia and Florida, the temperature is as high as in any tropical region, and many years in succession pass by without a shower or even a cloud. It is likewise observed, especially between the 30th and the 50th parallels, that the interior portions of the Pacific section are much more dry, and the

* Wherever water runs on or passes through the earth, it meets with salts, in quantities greater or less, according to the structure of the soil, and the space passed over or through: these salts it dissolves, and carries to its final recipient, either the ocean, or some lake or marsh, or sandy region, having no communication, either above or below the surface, with any lower recipient; and, as the water can only escape naturally from this recipient, by evaporation, which cannot abstract a single saline particle, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the salt must always be accumulating there. Thus the Dead Sea, which has no outlet, is saturated with salts, while the Lake of Tiberias, from which it receives its waters through the Jordan, is perfectly fresh; and innumerable other instances may be cited. In like manner, the ground in countries from which the water is not regularly carried off by streams or infiltration, is generally impregnated with salt; of which examples are offered in the high plains of Mexico, in some valleys west of the Rocky Mountains, and in many parts of the United States. The reverse may not be always true; but the saltiness of a large body of water, or a large extent of ground, affords strong reasons for suspecting the want of a drain from it into a lower recipient.

difference in temperature between the day and the succeeding night is, at all seasons, but particularly in summer, greater than in the countries nearer to the ocean. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, in territories so scantily and irregularly supplied with water, the surface must be, in general, bare and destitute of vegetation; and such is the character of the greater portion of the continent west of the dividing range of mountains.

The central regions of the continent east of the Rocky Mountains exhibit, though in a less degree, the same peculiarities of climate with those adjoining, in the Pacific section. The vast plains, extending from the vicinity of the dividing chain towards the Mississippi, south of the 50th parallel of latitude, are almost as arid and barren as the countries on the other side of the ridge; the rains are neither frequent nor heavy during the warm months, and the surface, except in a few spots near the rivers, consists of sand and sandstone strongly impregnated with salt, and affords support only to stiff grass and shrubs. Descending towards the Mississippi, the climate and soil become more favorable to vegetable life, and the country gradually assumes the characters of the other Atlantic regions. North of the 50th parallel, there is more rain or snow, at all seasons, on each side of the ridge, though less on the west than on the east; the intensity of the cold, and its long duration, particularly on the eastern side, render those territories almost all uninhabitable by those who depend on agriculture for subsistence.

In consequence of this greater aridity of the climate on the western side of America, the irregularity of the surface, and the proximity of the dividing chain of mountains to the coast, the rivers on that side are generally neither so long, nor so abundant in water, nor navigable to such distances from their mouths, as those which fall into the Atlantic. The Columbia and the Colorado are the only streams known to flow from America into the Pacific, which can be compared, in any of these respects, with several in the other sections of the continent; yet they are each certainly inferior to the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Plate, and probably, also, to the Mackenzie. These and the other rivers of Western America run, in nearly their whole course, through deep ravines, among stony mountains; and they are, for the most part, crossed at short intervals by ledges of rock, producing falls and rapids, which render all navigation on them impossible, and to overcome which, all the resources of art would be unavailing.

In the territory east of the dividing chain, and south of the 50th parallel of latitude, are many rivers flowing from the mountains to the Mississippi; but none of them seem calculated to serve as channels for communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific regions. The Missouri and the Yellowstone each take a devious course; so that, after ascending either of them to the head of its navigation, the distance to the habitable countries on the Pacific is almost as great as from a point on the Missouri, more than fifteen hundred miles below. The Platte flows nearly, under the 42d parallel of latitude, from its source in the South Pass, the principal cleft of the Rocky Mountains, to the Missouri, precisely in the direction most favorable for intercourse between the Mississippi and the Columbia countries; but it is the most shallow of all large rivers: traversing a surface nearly plain, the increase of its waters, produced annually by the rains and melting of the snows, only serves to render it wider,

without any considerable increase of its depth, which is every where too small for the passage of the lightest boats. Nature has, however, provided a road along its banks, over which heavy wagons now annually roll between Missouri and Oregon; and, with a little assistance from art in some places, this road may be rendered one of the best in the world.

The territory farther north, extending from the Rocky Mountains to Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Sea, is traversed by innumerable rivers falling into those parts of the ocean. Of these, the principal are the Red River, of the north, the Assinaboin, and the Saskatchewan, emptying into Lake Winnipeg, which communicates by several channels with Hudson's Bay, and the Mississippi or Churchill's River, falling directly into that bay; while the Arctic Sea receives, nearly under the 69th parallel of latitude, Back's or the Great Fish River, the Coppermine, and the Mackenzie, the latter draining a territory scarcely less extensive than that of the Columbia. The regions crossed by these rivers are, in general, so nearly level, that it is, in many places, difficult to trace the limits of the tracts from which the waters flow into their respective channels or basins. They contain numerous lakes, some very large, and nearly all connected with each other, and with the Arctic Sea on the north, and Hudson's Bay on the east; and the head-waters of the rivers supplying these reservoirs are situated in the vicinity of the sources of the Mississippi, or of the Missouri, or of the Columbia, or of the streams falling into Lake Superior. The rivers above named are all navigable for great distances by boats, and they thus afford considerable advantages for commercial intercourse; goods being now transported across the continent, from the mouth of the Columbia to Hudson's Bay or to Montreal, and *vice versa*, almost entirely by water.

Under circumstances of climate, soil, and conformation of surface, so different, it may be supposed that considerable differences should exist between the productions of the great divisions of America here mentioned. It has been, accordingly, found that few species of plants or of animals are common to them all, and that many which abound in one are rare, if not entirely wanting, in the others. Some plants, especially the pines and cedars, acquire a greater development in the regions near the Pacific than in any other country; but a large portion of those territories is, from reasons already shown, entirely and irretrievably barren. In recompense for this sterility of the soil, the rivers of the Pacific section abound in fish, particularly in salmon, which ascend them to great distances from the sea, and form the principal support of the inhabitants.

With respect to the aborigines of these countries, the Arctic coasts of America are occupied by a race called Esquimaux, distinguished by peculiar marks from all others, who are likewise found on the northernmost shores of the Pacific, and particularly in the islands between the two continents, intermingled with the Tchukski, the aborigines of northernmost Asia. The remainder of the Pacific section, and, indeed, of the whole American continent, except, perhaps, Patagonia, appears to have been inhabited, before the entrance of the Europeans, by one and the same race; the natives of the different portions differing but slightly, considering the varieties of climate, soil, and situation, and the consequent varieties in modes of life. That some admixture with the races of South-eastern Asia may have taken place, is not improbable, from the fact that Japanese vessels have more than once been thrown on the north-west

coasts of America since the beginning of the present century; but no evidence or strong ground of supposition of such admixture has been discovered in the appearance of any part of the population of those coasts.

The settlements of civilized nations in the Pacific section of North America are inconsiderable in extent. Those of the Russians are scattered along the coasts and islands north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes; they are all under the direction of the Russian American Trading Company, and are devoted entirely to the collection of the furs and skins of the land and sea animals abounding in that quarter, of which large quantities are transported for sale to Asia and Europe. Those of the British and of citizens of the United States are intermingled throughout the regions south and east of the Russian territory, to California; the British, in general, occupying the parts north, and the Americans those south, of the Columbia River, which enters the Pacific near the 46th degree of latitude. The people of both the last-mentioned nations have hitherto, likewise, been employed principally in the fur trade; but, that business having become less profitable of late years, from the diminution of the animals, agricultural establishments have been formed, especially by the citizens of the United States, in the vicinity of the Columbia. The British are all under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, which possesses, in virtue of a royal grant, the privilege, in exclusion of other British subjects, of trading in all the Indian countries of North America belonging to, or claimed by, that power; and they are protected and restrained by British laws, under an act of Parliament extending the jurisdiction of the Canada courts over those countries, so far as relates to subjects of that nation. The citizens of the United States, on the contrary, are deprived of all protection, and are independent of all control; as they are not subject to British laws, and their own government exercises no authority whatsoever over any part of America west of the Rocky Mountains. In California, south of the 38th degree of latitude, are many colonies, garrisons, and missionary stations, founded by the Spaniards during the last century, and now maintained by the Mexicans, who succeeded to the rights of Spain in 1821. They are all situated in the immediate vicinity of the coasts, the interior regions being, as yet, almost unknown. It is worthy of remark, that California, though thinly inhabited by a wretched, indolent population, is the only part of the Pacific section of North America which can be considered as regularly settled, — which possesses an organized civil and social system, and where individuals hold a property in the soil secured to them by law.

Each of these four nations claims the exclusive possession of a portion of the territory on the Pacific side of America, north of the Californian Gulf; and each of them is a party to some treaty with another, for the temporary use, or definitive sovereignty, of such portion. Thus it has been agreed, by treaty, in 1819, between the United States and Spain, — renewed, in 1828, between the United States and Mexico, — that a line, drawn from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, in the course of the 42d parallel of latitude, should separate the dominions of the former power on the north from those of Mexico on the south. It was, in like manner, agreed, in 1824, by convention between the United States and Russia, that the former nation should make no establishments on the coasts north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and that the latter

should make none south of the same line; but this convention was neutralized, and, in fact, abrogated, by a treaty concluded between Russia and Great Britain in the following year, by which all the territories of the main land and islands, north and west of a line drawn from the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, north-westward, along the highlands bordering the Pacific coasts, to Mount St. Elias, and thence due north to the Arctic Sea, were to belong to Russia, while all east and south of that line were to be the property of Great Britain.

Thus, on the western side of North America, two lines of distinct boundary, or partition, each traversing the whole breadth of the Pacific section, have been recognized; the one between two powers, Great Britain and Russia, the other between two different powers, the United States and Mexico,—neither of which is, however, admitted by the third power, claiming, also, the possession of territories contiguous to it. Of the vast division of the continent and the adjacent islands between these two lines, no spot has yet been assigned, by mutual agreement, to any civilized nation. The United States claim the territories northward from the 42d parallel, and Great Britain claims those extending south and east from the other line, each to a distance undefined, but so far as to secure for itself the whole, or nearly the whole, of the regions traversed by the Columbia River. The American government has more than once proposed to adopt the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as the dividing line; the British have, however, constantly refused to assent to that or any other arrangement which should deprive them of the coasts and territories north of the Columbia River; and neither nation being willing to recede from its pretensions, all the countries claimed by both, west of the Rocky Mountains, remain, by convention between the two governments, concluded in 1827, free and open to the citizens or subjects of both.

Such is the present political condition of the Pacific regions of North America. This anomalous state of things cannot, however, endure much longer. The people of the United States are rapidly colonizing the fertile portions of the territory on the lower Columbia; and no one acquainted with their character can suppose that they will submit to be deprived of their political birthright in those countries, while they have the slightest prospect of vindicating it.

Having presented this concise general view of the western section of North America, its divisions will now be described in detail, beginning with the most southern, under the heads of California, Oregon, and Russian America.

CALIFORNIA.

THE name California was first assigned, by the Spaniards, in 1536, to the great peninsula which extends on the western side of North America, from the 32d degree of latitude, southwardly, to and within the limits of the torrid zone; and it was afterwards made to comprehend the whole division of the continent north-west of Mexico, just as that of Florida was applied to the opposite portion on the Atlantic side. At the present day, California is usually considered as including the peninsula, and the territory extending from it, on the Pacific, northward, as far as the limits of Oregon, or the country of the Columbia River; Cape Mendocino, in the latitude of 40 degrees 19 minutes, being assumed as the point of separation of the two coasts. The Mexican government, however, regards the 42d parallel of latitude as the northern limit of California, agreeably to the treaty concluded between that republic and the United States of America in 1828.

California is naturally divided into two portions — the peninsular, called Old or Lower California — and the continental, or New, or Upper California, the line of separation between which runs nearly along the 32d parallel of latitude, from the head or northern extremity of the Californian Gulf, westward to the Pacific.

The Gulf of California will be first considered. This Gulf, called by the Spaniards the Sea of Cortés, but more commonly the Vermilion Sea, (Mar Vermejo,) is a great arm of the Pacific, which joins that ocean under the 23d parallel of latitude, and thence extends north-eastward, between the American continent on the east and the Californian peninsula on the west, to its head or termination, near the 32d parallel, where it receives the waters of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. Its length is about seven hundred miles; its breadth, at its junction with the Pacific, is one hundred miles: farther north, it is somewhat wider, and, still farther, its shores gradually approach each other, until they become the banks of the Colorado. It contains many islands, of which the largest are Carmen, near the 25th degree of latitude, Tiburon and Santa Ines, near the 29th, and some others at the northern extremity. The western or peninsular coasts of the gulf are high, steep, and rocky, offering very few places of security for vessels; and not a single stream which deserves the name of a river enters it on that side. The eastern or continental shores are generally low, and the sea in their vicinity is so shallow as to render the navigation along them dangerous.

The peninsular coast of the gulf has long been celebrated for the great size and beauty of the pearls contained in the oysters which abound in the sea on that side; and the search for those precious stones has always formed the principal employment of people of civilized nations in that quarter. The pearls are procured, with much danger and difficulty, by

Indians, who dive for them to the depth of twenty or more feet, and of whom a large proportion are annually drowned or devoured by sharks. A company, formed at London in 1825, sent Lieutenant Hardy to the Californian coast, with two vessels, carrying diving-bells, by the aid of which it was expected that the pearl fishery might be conducted more safely, as well as profitably, than by the ordinary means; but, unfortunately, it proved that the oysters always lie in crevices of the rocks, to which no access can be had by persons in the diving-bell, and the enterprise was, in consequence, abandoned. The value of the pearls obtained appears to be trifling when compared with the time and labor employed in the search for them. In 1825, eight vessels engaged in the business collected together five pounds of pearls, which were worth about ten thousand dollars. Occasionally, however, a single stone is found of value sufficient to afford compensation for years of fruitless labor; and some of the richest pearls in the regalia of Spain are the produce of the fishery in the Californian Gulf.

The territory extending east from the Californian Gulf to the summit of the great dividing chain of the Anahuac Mountains, forms two political divisions of the Mexican republic, of which the northern is called Sonora, (a corruption of Señora,) and the southern Sinaloa. These countries are, as yet, thinly inhabited: from the general productiveness of their soil, the salubrity of their climate, and the number and richness of their mines of gold and silver, they seem calculated for the support of a large population, for which the gulf, and the many rivers flowing into it from the mountains on the east, will afford the means of communicating with other lands. The port of Guaymas, in Sonora, in latitude of 27 degrees 40 minutes, is said to be one of the best on the Pacific side of America. Mazatlan, in Sonora, at the entrance of the Californian Gulf, has been, hitherto, more generally frequented; but it is neither so secure as Guaymas, nor is the territory in its vicinity so productive or healthy. South-east of Mazatlan, in latitude of 27 degrees 29 minutes, is San Blas, the principal commercial port of Mexico on the Pacific, one of the hottest and most unhealthy spots on the globe; and still farther, in the same direction, are Navidad, Acapulco, and the harbor of Tehuantepec, all celebrated, in former times, as places of trade, but now decaying and deserted.

The peninsula of California is about one hundred and thirty miles in breadth where it joins the continent, under the 32d parallel, that is to say, nearly in the same latitude with the city of Savannah, in Georgia. Thence it extends south-eastward, varying, but generally diminishing, in breadth between the Pacific on the west and the Californian Gulf on the east, to its termination in two points—Cape San Lucas, the south-westernmost, in latitude of 22 degrees 52 minutes, corresponding nearly with that of the city of Havanna, in Cuba—and Cape Palmo, 60 miles east by north of the other, at the entrance of the Californian Gulf.

Continental California extends, upon the Pacific, from the 32d parallel of latitude, where it joins the peninsula, about seven hundred miles north-westward to Oregon, from which it is divided, nearly in the course of the 42d parallel,—that is, nearly in the latitude of Boston,—by a chain of highlands called the Snowy Mountains, the Sierra Nevada of the Spaniards. Its boundaries on the west are not, as yet, determined politically by the Mexican government; nor do geographers agree with regard to its

natural limits in that direction. By some, it is considered as embracing, like Chili, only the territory between the Pacific and the summit of the great mountain chain, which borders the western side of the continent : others extend its limits to the Colorado ; while others include in it, and others again exclude from it, the entire regions drained by that river. The only portion occupied by the Mexicans, or of which any distinct accounts have been obtained, is that between the great chain of mountains and the ocean ; the country east of that ridge to the Colorado appears to be an uninhabitable desert.

The Californian peninsula is merely the southern portion of the great westernmost chain of mountains, prolonged through the Pacific. It consists entirely of high, stony ridges, separated by narrow, sandy valleys, and contains no tracts of level ground of any extent. At its southern extremity, the earth is sometimes visited by showers in the summer, but never at any other period of the year : near its junction with the continent, rain is seen only in winter ; and in the intermediate portion, many years in succession pass by without the appearance of a drop of water from the heavens, or indeed of a single cloud, while the rays of the sun, thus uninterrupted in their passage, produce a heat as intense as that in any other region of the world. Under such circumstances, as might be supposed, the springs of water are few and slender, and the surface is almost every where destitute of vegetation. The peninsula is, on the whole, an irreclaimable desert : yet, wherever irrigation is practicable, the productiveness of the soil is extraordinary ; and the little oases formed by the passage of a slender rivulet through a narrow, sandy defile, may thus be made to yield all the fruits of tropical climes in abundance, and of the finest quality.

The southern portion of the peninsula contains several mines of gold, which have been worked, though not extensively. The only mine as yet discovered in continental California is one of gold, situated at the foot of the great westernmost range of mountains, on the west, at the distance of twenty-five miles from Angeles, the largest town in the country. It is said to be of extraordinary richness.

The animals originally found in California were buffaloes, — though in small numbers, compared with those east of the Rocky Mountains, — deer, elk, bears, wild hogs, wild sheep, ocelotes, beavers, foxes, and many others, generally of species different from those in the Atlantic regions of the continent. Sea otters were very abundant on the northern parts of the coasts, but they have disappeared. Cattle and horses were introduced by the Spaniards from Mexico, and have increased in an extraordinary degree, particularly the cattle, with which the valleys near the coast of the continental portion are covered. One of the scourges of this country is the *chapul*, a kind of grasshopper, which appears in summer, especially after a mild winter, in clouds resembling the locusts of Southern Asia, destroying every vegetable substance in their way.

The aborigines of California are placed, by those who have had the best opportunity of studying their character and disposition, with the Hottentots, the Patagonians, and the Australians, among the lowest of the human race ; those of the continental portion being considered less ferocious, but more indolent and vicious, than the natives of the peninsula. The Spaniards made many attempts, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to found settlements in the country, all of which proved

abortive; until, at length, in 1699, the Jesuits, by permission of the king of Spain, undertook to convert the natives to Christianity, and to initiate them into the usages and arts of civilized life. With this view, they formed a number of missions, near the east coasts of the peninsula, and, by untiring assiduity, they had succeeded partly in their objects before 1768, when the Jesuits were, in execution of a decree issued at Madrid, expelled from the Spanish dominions; their establishments were then confided to the Dominicans, under whose charge they have since remained with little advantage in any way.

The number of persons in the peninsula at present has been variously estimated; from the best accounts, it does not exceed five thousand, of whom a small proportion only are Mexicans, and very few are of European origin. The principal places now occupied by the Mexicans are — Loreto, formerly the principal mission of the Jesuits, and now the capital of Old California, a miserable village of about two hundred persons, situated near the gulf, opposite the Island of Carmen, in latitude of 25 degrees 14 minutes — La Paz, on the Bay of Pichilingue, a little farther south, the port of communication with Mexico — and Port San José, near Cape San Lucas, where an establishment has been recently formed in a plain, watered by a slender rill. From these places, small quantities of tortoise shells, dried meat, cheese, and dried fruits, the latter said to be excellent, are sent to San Blas, in Mexico, or sold to trading vessels which occasionally enter the gulf during their tour along the coasts. There are several other spots on the gulf offering good harbors for vessels, though they present no facilities for settlements; among which the principal is the Bay of Mulege, near the latitude of $27\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

On the west, or Pacific, side of the peninsula no settlement has ever been formed or attempted by a civilized nation. This coast offers many excellent harbors, but the want of fresh water in their vicinity must ever prove an effectual obstacle to their occupation. The principal harbors are, the Bay of La Magdalena, in latitude of 25 degrees, which is separated from the ocean by the long island of Santa Margarita, and appears to stretch much farther inland than had been supposed; the Bay of Sebastian Vizcaino, under the 28th parallel, east of the Isle of Cedars; Port San Bartolomé, called Turtle Bay by the British and American traders, and Port San Quintin, an excellent harbor, with fresh water near it, in latitude of 30 degrees 20 minutes, called by the old Spanish navigators the Port of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which was rediscovered in 1800 by Captain O'Kean, a fur-trader from Boston. At the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from this coast, under the parallel of 28 degrees 45 minutes, is the small, rocky island of Guadelupe, the existence of which, after it had been denied by many navigators, has been ascertained.

Northward from the peninsula, the great westernmost chain of mountains continues nearly parallel with the Pacific coast, to the 34th degree of latitude, under which rises Mount San Bernardin, one of the highest peaks in California, about forty miles from the ocean. Farther north, the coast turns more to the west, and the space between it and the summit line of the mountains becomes wider, so as to exceed eighty miles in some places; the intermediate region being traversed by lines of hills, or smaller mountains, connected with the main range. The principal of these inferior ridges extends from Mount San Bernardin north-westward to its termination on the south side of the entrance of the great Bay of

San Francisco, near the 38th degree of latitude, where it is called the San Bruno Mountains. Between this range and the coast run the Santa Barbara Mountains, terminating in the north at the Cape of Pines, on the south-west side of the Bay of Monterey, near the latitude of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

North of the San Bruno Mountains is the Bolbones ridge, bordering the Bay of San Francisco on the east; and still farther in the same direction are other and much higher lines of highlands, stretching from the great chain, and terminating in capes on the Pacific.

The southernmost of these regions of continental California, between the Pacific and the great westernmost chain of mountains, resembles the adjacent portion of the peninsula in climate; being very hot and dry, except during a short time in the winter. Farther north, the wet season increases in length, and about the Bay of San Francisco the rains are almost constant from November to April, the earth being moistened during the remainder of the year by heavy dews and fogs. Snow and ice are sometimes seen in the winter on the shores of this bay, but never farther south, except on the mountain-tops. The whole of California is, however, subject to long droughts; thus little or no rain fell in any part of the country during 1840 and 1841, in which years the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress.

Among the valleys in this part of California are many streams, some of which discharge large quantities of water in the rainy season; but no river is known to flow through the maritime ridge of mountains from the interior to the Pacific, except perhaps the Sacramento, falling into the Bay of San Francisco, though several are thus represented on the maps. The valleys thus watered afford abundant pasturage for cattle, with which they are covered: California, however, contains but two tracts of country capable of supporting large numbers of inhabitants, which are, that west of Mount San Bernardin, about the 34th degree of latitude, and that surrounding the Bay of San Francisco and the lower part of the Sacramento; and even in these, artificial irrigation would be indispensable to insure success in agriculture.

The earliest settlements in continental California were made by the Spaniards, in 1769, immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the peninsula. These establishments were at first missionary and military; the charge of converting the natives being committed to the Franciscans, while forts and garrisons were placed at various points, for the occupation and defence of the country. Towns were subsequently laid out and settled, and farms were cultivated, for the most part by natives, under the direction of the friars and officers. All these establishments declined considerably after the overthrow of the Spanish power, in consequence of want of funds, and the diminution of the authority of the priesthood; but, on the other hand, the commerce of the country has increased, and many vessels, principally from the United States, resort to its ports, bringing manufactured articles, in return for which they receive hides, tallow, and other raw productions. In 1835, the number of missions was twenty-one, and of the towns seven, to which were attached about twenty-three thousand persons, mostly of the pure aboriginal race, and many of mixed breed. Since that time several missions have been abandoned, while the towns have increased in number and population.

The most southern settlement on the Pacific side of California, and the

first established by the Spaniards, is San Diego, a small town of three hundred inhabitants, situated about a mile from the north shore of a bay which communicates with the ocean, in the latitude of 32 degrees 41 minutes. The bay runs about ten miles eastward into the land, being separated from the ocean, in its whole length, by a ridge of sand, and affords entrance to vessels of any size, which may anchor safe from all winds within a mile of the northern shore. The passage leading into it is defended by fortifications which, if properly armed and manned, might render the harbor completely secure from all attacks by sea. The mission stands about seven miles from the town, in a valley, through which a torrent rushes in the rainy season. About sixty miles farther north-west is San Juan, a small place on an unsafe and inconvenient harbor, in latitude of 33 degrees 27 minutes; and somewhat farther in the same direction is San Pedro, on a bay open to the south-west winds, but sheltered from the north-west. The country in the immediate vicinity of these places is sandy and barren, yielding little besides grass for cattle; in the interior, however, on the north-east, is the wide tract already mentioned, extending to Mount San Bernardin, which is said to be of great fertility wherever it is properly irrigated, producing wheat, vines, olives, and fruits of various kinds. In this tract, at the distance of thirty miles north from San Pedro, stands Pueblo de los Angeles, the largest town in California, containing a thousand inhabitants; and near it the mission of San Gabriel, the vineyards of which formerly yielded a large supply of good wine.

From Port San Pedro the Californian coast runs westward, more than a hundred miles, to Cape Conception, a point situated in latitude of 34 degrees 22 minutes, as much dreaded by navigators, on account of the violence and frequency of the storms in its vicinity, as Cape Hatteras, near the same parallel on the eastern side of the continent. Opposite this part of the coast are the Islands of Santa Barbara, eight in number, of which four, called Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, Santa Catalina, and San Clemente, contain from twenty to fifty square miles of surface each; the others being mere rocks. Between the Island of Santa Cruz and the main land on the north is the channel of Santa Barbara, on the north side of which, the town, fort, and mission of Santa Barbara are situated, in a sandy plain, stretching from the coast to the Santa Barbara range of mountains. The harbor is an open roadstead, sheltered from the north and west winds, which there prevail from November to March, but affording no protection against the south-westerly storms, which are so violent and frequent during the remainder of the year.

At the distance of a hundred miles north of Cape Conception, the Santa Barbara Mountains end, as already said, in a point called the Cape of Pines, (Punta de Pinos,) in latitude of 36 degrees 37 minutes; between which and another point, twenty-four miles farther north, called Cape New Year, (Punta de Nuevo Año,) is included the extensive Bay of Monterey. This bay lies in an indentation of the coast, almost semi-circular; its southernmost part is, however, separated from the ocean by the point of land ending at the Cape of Pines, and thus forms a cove, near the southernmost part of which stands the town of Monterey, or San Carlos de Monterey, the seat of government of California. The town is a wretched collection of mud-built houses, containing about two hundred inhabitants; the castle, as it is termed, and the fort on the Cape of Pines, are merely mud walls, behind which are a few old guns, all ineffective.

The mission, situated three miles south of the town, in a valley, through which runs the torrent of San Carmelo, embraces extensive buildings, but is in a ruinous state, and nearly deserted.

The surrounding country possesses a good soil and a delightful climate, and might be rendered very productive by irrigation, for which two small rivers, flowing from the mountains, offer abundant supplies of water at all times; it, however, remains uncultivated, and scarcely any article of food is obtained from it, except the meat of the cattle covering the valleys. From the eastern shore of the bay, a sandy plain extends eastward to the foot of the San Bruno Mountains, traversed by a river called the Buena-ventura, which is erroneously represented, on some maps, as flowing through the great ridge from the interior countries. North of the bay, at a little distance from Cape New Year, is the mission of Santa Cruz, to which vessels commonly resort for water and provisions; and farther in the interior, beyond the San Bruno range, is the town of Branciforte, one of the largest in California.

The next remarkable headland on the coast north of the Bay of Monterey is that called Punta de los Reyes, or the Cape of Kings, composed of high white cliffs, projecting into the Pacific, under the 38th degree of latitude; when seen from the north or the south, it presents the appearance of an island, being connected with the main land on the east by low ground. A few miles south of this point are two clusters of rocky islets, called Farellones, immediately east of which,

The Bay of San Francisco joins the Pacific by a passage or channel two miles wide, and three in length, under the parallel of 37 degrees 55 minutes, nearly in the same latitude with the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, and the Straits of Gibraltar. From this passage the bay extends northward and southward, surrounded by ranges of high hills, and containing some of the most convenient, beautiful, and secure harbors, on the Pacific, and, indeed, in the world.

The southern branch of the bay extends south-eastward about thirty miles, terminating in that direction in a number of small arms, receiving streams from the hills. Its average breadth is about twelve miles; and it may be considered as occupying the bottom, or northern extremity of a long valley, included between the San Bruno Mountains on the west and the Bolbones ridge on the east. Farther up this valley, in the south, are the large Lakes of Tule, which communicate with each other and with the bay during the rainy season, and are said to be surrounded by a delightful country, containing a numerous population of natives.

The northern branch of the bay becomes contracted, near the entrance, into a strait, beyond which is a basin, ten miles in diameter, called the Bay of San Pablo. A second passage, called the Strait of Carquines, connects this basin with another, containing many islands, into which empty the Sacramento, and one or two smaller streams. The Sacramento rises among the mountains of the great westernmost chain, near the 41st degree of latitude, and is said to receive a branch flowing through those mountains from the east. Thence it flows, in a very tortuous course, about three hundred miles, southward, to its entrance in the Bay of San Francisco, being navigable by small vessels to the distance of more than one hundred miles from the bay. The lower part of the country traversed by it is an alluvial plain, parts of which are prairies, while others are covered with forests of noble trees, principally oaks, and the whole appears to

be well adapted for the support of a large population. The other rivers falling into this basin are the San Joaquin from the south, and the Jesus Maria from the north, both inconsiderable streams.

In the country around this bay, settlements and cultivation have advanced more than in any other part of California. Near its southern extremity are the town of San Jose and the mission of Santa Clara, in a delightful region, producing grains and fruits of various kinds in profusion, and affording pasture to numerous herds of cattle. On the northern branch are the missions of San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano; and many small establishments for farming or grazing have been formed at other points. The town, mission, and fort of San Francisco, are all situated near the south side of the passage connecting the bay with the Pacific, on a plain at the termination of the San Bruno Mountains. The principal anchorage for vessels is a cove a few miles south of the entrance-passage, between the western shore of the bay and the Island of Yerba Buena, where a settlement has been commenced by the English and Americans, who conduct nearly all the trade of that part of California.

Near Cape de los Reyes, on the north, is the entrance of the Bay of Bodega, which thence extends northward and southward, a few miles in each direction. On the shore of the northern branch, the Russians, in 1812, formed an establishment, chiefly with the view of supplying their settlements farther north with grain and meat; and some years afterwards, another, called Ross, was made by the same nation, on the coast of the Pacific, thirty miles north of Bodega, in latitude of 38 degrees 33 minutes, near the mouth of a small stream, named by them the Slavinka Ross. In 1838, each place contained a stockaded fort, enclosing magazines and dwellings for the officers, and surrounded by other buildings, among which were mills, shops for smiths and carpenters, and stables for cattle; and in the neighborhood of Bodega, farms were worked, from which several thousand bushels of wheat, besides pease, and other vegetables, butter, and cheese, were annually sent to the trading posts in the north. These establishments proved constant sources of annoyance to the Spaniards, and to their Mexican successors, who did not, however, venture to attempt to remove them by force; in 1841, they were abandoned by the Russians, who transferred all their interests in that quarter to a company or party composed of citizens of the United States, and others, equally determined to resist the authority of Mexico.

Cape Mendocino, which appears to be the natural point of junction of the coasts of California and Oregon, is the most elevated land near the Pacific in that quarter. It consists of two high promontories, situated about ten miles apart, of which the southern and the most elevated is situated under the parallel of 40 degrees 19 minutes, nearly in the same latitude with Sandy Hook, at the entrance of the bay of New York; and is believed to be the western termination of the great chain of the Snowy Mountains, which forms the southern barrier of the regions drained by the Columbia. This cape was formerly much dreaded by the Spanish navigators, on account of the storms usually prevailing in its vicinity; but, those fears having passed away, the cape has lost much of the respect with which it was regarded by mariners.

The interior of California, east of the mountains which border the coast, is imperfectly known. According to the vague reports of the

Catholic missionaries and American traders, who have traversed it in various directions, the northern portion is a wilderness of lofty mountains, apparently forming a continuous chain, from the range which borders the Pacific coast to the Rocky Mountains; and the southern division is a desert of sandy plains, and rocky hills, and lakes and marshes, having no outlet to the sea. The heat of the sun in the plains is described, by all who have experienced it, as most intense; and from their accounts it seems to be certain that this region, with the exception, perhaps, of the portion immediately adjacent to the Colorado River, must ever remain uninhabited.

The Colorado seems to be the only outlet of the waters of these territories. It is formed near the 41st degree of latitude, by the junction of several streams, rising among the Rocky Mountains, of which the principal are the Sids-kadee, or Green River, and the Sandy River: thence flowing south-westward, it passes through a range of mountains where its course is broken by numerous ledges of rocks, producing falls and rapids; after which it receives the Nabaho, the Jaquesila, the Gila, and other large streams from the east, and enters the Gulf of California, under the parallel of 32 degrees. The country in the vicinity of this river, for some distance from its mouth, is flat, and is overflowed during the rainy season, when the quantity of water discharged is very great; and high embankments are thus made by the deposit of the mud on each side, similar to those on the Lower Mississippi. How far the Colorado may be ascended by vessels from the gulf, is not known: from some accounts, it seems to be navigable for three or four hundred miles; while, according to others, on which more reliance may be placed, obstacles to the passage of vessels occur much nearer to the sea.

West of the Colorado, between the 40th and the 42d degrees of latitude, is a great collection of salt water, called the Utah Lake, probably the same which appears on the old Spanish maps, under the names of Lake Timpanogos and Lake Tegayo. It is fed by several streams, the principal of which is the Bear River, entering on the north-east, after a long and tortuous course through the mountains. Near the northernmost part of this river is an extensive plain of white calcareous earth, on the borders of which are several springs of water, called the Soda or Beer Springs, highly charged with carbonic acid gas, and one, the temperature of which is but little below the boiling point.

Around the Utah Lake are other collections of water, some salt, and having no outlet; others fresh, and communicating either with the great lake, or with the Colorado. The principal of these is Ashley's Lake, situated about a hundred miles south of the Utah Lake, on the banks of which a fur-trading establishment, called Fort Ashley, was founded by the Americans, in 1827; but it has since been abandoned.

Having thus presented the most remarkable features of California, those of Oregon, or the country of the Columbia next adjoining on the north, will be described.

OREGON.

OREGON is the name usually applied to the part of the western section of America, which is traversed and principally drained by the Columbia — from the supposition, no doubt erroneous, that this river was called Oregon by the aborigines in its vicinity.

The political boundaries of Oregon have not as yet been fixed by agreement between the parties claiming possession of it. The government of the United States considers them as embracing the whole territory west of the Rocky Mountains, from the latitude of 42 degrees to that of 54 degrees 40 minutes; the British have, however, refused to acknowledge the right of the Americans to any portion north of the Columbia River. Leaving this political question to be determined hereafter, a view will first be presented of

THE COUNTRY OF THE COLUMBIA.

This country extends on the Pacific from the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, five hundred miles, to Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca; from the eastern extremity of which strait, distant one hundred miles from the ocean, a range of mountains stretches north-eastward, about four hundred miles, to the Rocky Mountains, near the 54th degree of latitude, separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Frazer's River. The Rocky Mountains form the eastern boundary of the Columbia regions, for about twelve hundred miles, from the 54th to the 42d parallels; and those regions are separated from California, on the south, by the Snowy Mountains, which appear to extend continuously from the Rocky Mountains, nearly in the course of the 41st parallel, about seven hundred miles westward, to the vicinity of the Pacific. It is not easy to define these boundaries more exactly, as the directions of the mountain chains are not accurately ascertained. The territory included within these limits, and drained almost entirely by the Columbia, is not less than four hundred thousand square miles in superficial extent; which is more than double that of France, and nearly half that of all the states of the Federal Union. Its southernmost points are in the same latitudes with Boston and with Florence; while its northernmost correspond with the northern extremities of Newfoundland, and with the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.

The Pacific coast of this territory extends in a line nearly due north from Cape Mendocino to Cape Flattery; in which whole distance there is but one harbor, or place of refuge for ships, namely, the mouth of the Columbia River, near the 46th degree of latitude, and that harbor is very frequently inaccessible.

The shores south of the Columbia are most perilous to navigators at all times; as they are every where steep and rocky, and bordered by shoals

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and reefs, on which the waves of the Pacific are driven with fury by the prevailing north-west winds. Vessels not drawing more than eight feet may, however, enter the Umqua, a small stream falling into the Pacific, in the latitude of 42 degrees 51 minutes, immediately north of a remarkable promontory called Cape Orford, probably the Cape Blanco of the old Spanish navigators. Small vessels may also find anchorage in a cove or recess of the coast, named by the Spaniards Port Trinidad, under the parallel of 41 degrees 3 minutes, about forty miles north of Cape Mendocino, and in some other spots; but no place on this coast can be said to offer protection to vessels against winds or waves.

North of the Columbia, the coast is less beset by dangers; and it offers, immediately under the 47th parallel, one good port, for small vessels, which was discovered in May, 1792, by Captain Gray, of Boston, and named by him Bulfinch's Harbor, though it is more commonly called Gray's Harbor, and is frequently represented on English maps as Whidbey's Bay. The only other spot worthy of particular notice on this part of the coast is Destruction Island, near the continent, in latitude of 47½ degrees, so called by the captain of an Austrian trading ship in 1787, in consequence of the murder of some of his men by the natives of the adjacent country.

The Strait of Fuca is an arm of the sea separating a great island from the continent on the south and east, to which much interest was for some time attached, from the supposition that it might be a channel connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific north of America. It extends from the ocean eastward about one hundred miles, varying in breadth from ten to thirty miles, between the 48th and the 49th parallels of latitude; thence it turns to the north-west, in which direction it runs, first expanding into a long, wide bay, and then contracting into narrow and intricate passages among islands, three hundred miles farther, to its reunion with the Pacific, under the 51st parallel. From its south-eastern extremity, a great gulf, called Admiralty Inlet, stretches southward into the continent more than one hundred miles, dividing into many branches, of which the principal are Hood's Canal, on the west, and Puget's Sound, the southernmost, extending nearly to the 47th parallel. This inlet possesses many excellent harbors; and the country adjacent, being delightful and productive, will, there is every reason to believe, in time become valuable, agriculturally, as well as commercially. There are many other harbors on the Strait of Fuca, of which the principal are Port Discovery, near the entrance of Admiralty Inlet, said by Vancouver to be one of the best in the Pacific, and Poverty Cove, called Port Nuñez Gaona by the Spaniards, situated a few miles east of Cape Flattery. That cape, so named by Cook, is a conspicuous promontory in the latitude of 48 degrees 27 minutes, near which is a large rock, called Tatooche's Island, united to the promontory by a rocky ledge, at times partially covered by water. The shore between the cape and Admiralty Inlet is composed of sandy cliffs overhanging a beach of sand and stones; from it the land gradually rises to a chain of mountains, stretching southwardly along the Pacific to the vicinity of the Columbia, the highest point of which received, in 1788, the name of Mount Olympus.

The interior of this part of America is, as already said, traversed by many great ranges of mountains, running generally almost parallel with each other, and with the coast: before describing them, however, it will

be convenient to present a general view of the Columbia River and its branches.

The Columbia enters the Pacific Ocean between two points of land, seven miles apart — Cape Disappointment on the north, and Cape Adams on the south, of which the former is in the latitude of 46 degrees 19 minutes, (corresponding nearly with Quebec, in Canada, and Geneva, in Switzerland,) and in longitude of 47 degrees west from Washington, or 124 degrees west from Greenwich. The main river is formed, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from its mouth, by the union of two large streams, one from the north, which is usually considered as the principal branch, and the other, called the Sahaptin, or Snake, or Lewis's River, from the south-east. These two great confluent receive, in their course, many other streams, and they thus collect together all the waters flowing from the western sides of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 54th parallels of latitude.

The northern branch of the Columbia rises in the Rocky Mountains, near the 53d degree of latitude. One of its head-waters, the Canoe River, runs from a small lake, situated in a remarkable cleft of the great chain, called the Punch Bowl, at the distance of only a few feet from another lake, whence flows the westernmost stream of the Athabasca River, a tributary to the Mackenzie, emptying into the Arctic Sea. This cleft appears to be the only practicable pass in the mountains north of the 49th degree of latitude, and through it is conducted all the trade of British subjects between the territories on either side of the ridge. It is described, by those who have visited it, as presenting scenes of the most terrific grandeur, being overhung by the highest peaks in the dividing range, of which one, called Mount Brown, is not less than sixteen thousand feet, and another, Mount Hooker, exceeds fifteen thousand feet, above the ocean level.

At a place called Boat Encampment, near the 52d degree of latitude, Canoe River joins two other streams, the one from the north, the other, the largest of the three, running along the base of the Rocky Mountains, from the south. The river thus formed, considered as the main Columbia, takes its course nearly due south, through defiles, between lofty mountains, being generally a third of a mile in width, but, in some places, spreading out into broad lakes, for about three hundred miles, to the latitude of 48½ degrees, where it receives the Flatbow or M'Gillivray's River, a large branch, flowing, also, from the Rocky Mountains on the east. A little farther south, the northern branch unites with the Clarke or Flathead River — scarcely inferior, in the quantity of water supplied, to the other. The sources of the Clarke are situated in the dividing range, near those of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, whence it runs northward, along the base of the mountains, and then westward, forming, under the 48th parallel, an extensive sheet of water, called the Kullerspeim Lake, surrounded by rich tracts of land, and lofty mountains, covered with noble trees; from this lake the river issues, a large and rapid stream, and, after running about seventy miles westward, it falls into the north branch of the Columbia, over a ledge of rocks. From the point of union of these two rivers, the Columbia turns towards the west, and rushes through a ridge of mountains, where it forms a cataract called the Chaudière or Kettle Falls. Continuing in the same direction eighty miles, between the 48th and the 49th parallels, it receives, in succession, the Spokane from

the south, and the Okinagan from the north, and, from the mouth of the latter, it pursues a southward course for one hundred and sixty miles, to its junction with the great southern branch, near the 47th degree of latitude.

Of the Sahaptin, or Lewis, or Snake River, the great southern branch of the Columbia, the farthest sources are situated in the deep valleys or *holes* of the Rocky Mountains, near the 42d degree of latitude, within short distances of those of the Yellowstone, the Platte, and the Colorado. The most eastern of these head-waters, considered as the main river, issues from Pierre's Hole, between the Rocky Mountains and a parallel range called the Tetons, from three remarkable peaks, resembling teats, which rise to a great height above the others. Running westward, this stream unites successively with Henry's Fork from the north, and the Portneuf from the south. Some distance below its junction with the latter, the Lewis enters the defile between the Blue Mountains on the west, and another rocky chain, called the Salmon River Mountains, on the east, and takes its course north-westward, for about six hundred miles, to its union with the northern branch, receiving many large streams from each side. The principal of these influent streams are the Malade or Sickly River, the Boisé or Reed's River, the Salmon River, and the Kooskooskee, from the east, and the Malheur and Powder River, from the Blue Mountains, on the west.

Of these two great branches of the Columbia, and the streams which fall into them, scarcely any portion is navigable by the smallest vessels for more than thirty or forty miles continuously. The northern branch is much used by the British traders for the conveyance of their furs and merchandise, by means of light canoes, which, as well as their cargoes, are carried by the boatmen around the falls and rapids so frequently interrupting their voyage. The Lewis River and its streams offer few advantages in this way; as they nearly all rush, in their whole course, through deep and narrow chasms, between perpendicular rocks, against which a boat would be momentarily in danger of being dashed by the current.

From the point of junction of these two great branches, the course of the Columbia is generally westward to the ocean. A little below that point, it receives the Walla-Walla, and then, in succession, the Umatalla, John Day's River, and the Chutes or Falls River, all flowing from the south, and some others, of less size, from the north. Near the mouth of the Falls River, eighty miles below the Walla-Walla, are situated the Falls, or *Chutes*, as they are called, of the Columbia, where the great stream enters a gap in the Far-West range of mountains. Four miles farther down are the *Dalles*, or rapids formed by the passage of the waters between vast masses of rock; and thirty miles below these are the Cascades, a series of falls and rapids extending more than half a mile, at the foot of which the tides are observable at the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from the Pacific.

A few miles below the Cascades, a large river, called the Willamet, (the Multonomah of Lewis and Clarke,) enters the Columbia from the south, by two branches, between which is an extensive island, named Wappatoo Island, from an edible root, so called, found growing in abundance upon it. Twenty-five miles from the mouth of this river are its falls, where all its waters are precipitated over a ledge of rocks more than forty feet in height. Beyond this point, the Willamet has been

traced about two hundred miles, in a tortuous course, through a narrow but generally fertile valley, to its sources in the Far-West chain of mountains, near the 43d degree of latitude. In this valley were formed the earliest agricultural settlements by citizens of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains; and, from all accounts, it appears to present greater advantages of soil and climate than any other part of the country drained by the Columbia.

Descending the Columbia forty miles from the lower mouth of the Willamet, we find a small stream, called the Cowelitz, entering it from the north; and, thirty miles lower down, the great river, which is nowhere above more than a mile wide, expands to the breadth of four, and, in some places, of seven, miles, before mingling its waters with those of the Pacific; it, however, preserves its character as a river, being rapid in its current, and perfectly fresh and potable, to within a league of the ocean, except during very dry seasons and the prevalence of violent westerly winds.

The Columbia may generally be ascended, by ships of three or four hundred tons, nearly to the foot of its cascades: the navigation, especially of the lower part, is, however, at all times, difficult and dangerous, in consequence of the number and the variability of the shoals; and it is only in fine weather that vessels can with safety enter or leave its mouth, which is guarded by a line of breakers, extending across from each of the capes.

The other rivers which drain the parts of this territory near the sea are numerous, but generally small, the majority being merely brooks, which disappear during the dry season. The Umqua, near the 43d degree of latitude, and the Chekelis, which empties into Bulfinch's Harbor, are the principal of those streams; but neither of them offers any facilities for commercial communication.

Of the chains of mountains traversing Oregon from north to south, the most remarkable is the westernmost, for which the name of Far-West Mountains has been here proposed, running northward from California at the distance of eighty or a hundred miles from the Pacific coast. Under the 49th parallel, where the base of the chain is washed by the easternmost waters of the Strait of Fuca, it is divided into three distinct ridges, one of which stretches north-east, to the Rocky Mountains, separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Fraser's River; another overhangs the sea-coast north-westward; and the islands of the North-West Archipelago, which mask the shore of the continent from the 49th to the 58th parallels, may be considered as a third ridge, extending through the sea. The principal peaks of this chain, in Oregon, are Mount Baker, near the 49th parallel, Mount Rainier, under the 47th, and Mount St. Helen's, the highest of the range, which rises, probably, not less than fifteen thousand feet above the ocean level, due east of the mouth of the Columbia. South of that river are Mount Hood, near the 45th parallel; Mount Jefferson, so named by Lewis and Clarke, under the 44th; Mount Shasty, near the 43d; and Mount Jackson, a stupendous pinnacle, in the latitude of 41 degrees 40 minutes, which has been also called Mount Pitt by the British traders. Some of these peaks are visible from the ocean, particularly Mount St. Helen's, which serves as a mark for vessels entering the Columbia; when seen from the highlands farther east, they present one of the grandest spectacles in nature. This chain is entirely of vol-

canic formation; and it must contain active volcanoes, as there are no other means of accounting for the showers of ashes which occasionally fall in many parts of Oregon, particularly in the vicinity of Mount St. Helen's. The latest of these supposed eruptions took place in 1834.

The country between the Pacific coast and this westernmost chain consists, like the part of California similarly situated, of ranges of lower mountains, separated by narrow valleys, generally running parallel to the great chain, and to the coast. Its superficial extent may be estimated at about forty-five thousand square miles,* of which a small proportion only, not exceeding an eighth, is fit for cultivation. The climate, like that of California, is warm and dry in summer; very little rain falling between April and November, though it is violent, and almost constant, during the remainder of the year. Snow is rarely seen in the valleys, in which the ground frequently continues soft and unfrozen throughout the winter. The soil, in some of these valleys, is said to be excellent for wheat, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, and apples; fifteen bushels of wheat being sometimes yielded by a single acre. Indian corn, which requires both heat and moisture, does not succeed in any part of Oregon. Hogs live and multiply in the woods, where an abundance of acorns is to be found; the cattle also increase, and it is not generally necessary for them to be housed or fed in the winter. The hills and the flanks of the great mountains are covered with timber, which grows to an immense size. A fir, near Astoria, measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the earth; the length of its trunk, before giving off a branch, was one hundred and fifty-three feet, and its whole height not less than three hundred feet. Another tree, of the same species, on the banks of the Umqua River, is fifty-seven feet in girth of trunk, and two hundred and sixteen feet in length below its branches. "Prime sound pines," says Cox, "from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in circumference, are by no means uncommon." The land on which these large trees grow is good; but the labor of clearing it would be such as to prevent any one from undertaking the task, until all the other spots, capable of cultivation, should have been occupied. From the peculiarities of climate above mentioned, it is probable that this country cannot be rendered very productive without artificial irrigation, which appears to be practicable only in a few places; and that consequently the progress of settlement in it will be much slower than in the Atlantic regions of the continent, where this want of moisture does not exist.

About one hundred and fifty miles east of the Far-West Mountains is another chain, called the Blue Mountains, stretching from the Snowy Mountains northward to the 47th degree of latitude, and forming the

* The Strait of Fuca, which bounds this region on the north, is in latitude of 48½ degrees; and, assuming the 42d parallel as the southern limit of the territory, its extreme length is 6½ degrees, or less than four hundred and fifty miles English. Its breadth—that is, the distance between the Pacific shore and the great chain of mountains which forms the eastern boundary of this region—does not average a hundred miles; and, by multiplying these two numbers, forty-five thousand square English miles appears as the superficial extent of the westernmost region of Oregon. It has, however, been gravely asserted and repeated on the floor of the Congress of the United States, that the valley of the Willamet, which is but an inconsiderable portion of this region, contains not less than *sixty thousand square miles of the finest land*; and many other assertions, equally extravagant, have been made, and are believed, respecting the vast extent of land in the country of the Columbia, *superior in quality to any in the United States*.

western wall of the valley of the Lewis, the great southern branch of the Columbia. North of the 47th degree are other ridges, which appear to be continuations of the Blue Mountains; but they are less defined, and are distinguished by other names. The region between the Blue and the Far-West Mountains embraces several tracts of country comparatively level, and some valleys wider than those of the Pacific region; the soil is, however, less productive, and the climate less favorable for agriculture, than in the places similarly situated nearer the ocean. The most extensive valleys are those traversed by the streams flowing into the Columbia from the south, between the Far-West range and the Blue Mountains, particularly the Walla-Walla, and the Falls or Chutes Rivers: the plains, as they are called, though they are rather tracts of undulating country, are on both sides of the northern branch of the Columbia, between the 46th and the 49th parallels of latitude. The surface of the plains consists generally of a yellow, sandy clay, covered with grass, small shrubs, and prickly pears; in the valleys farther south, the soil is somewhat better, containing less of sand and more of vegetable mould, and they give support to a few trees, chiefly sumach, cotton-wood, and other soft and useless woods. The climate of this whole region is more dry than that of the country nearer the Pacific; the days are warm, and the nights cool; but the want of moisture in the air prevents the contrast of temperature from being injurious to health, and the country is represented, by all who have had the opportunity of judging by experience, as being of extraordinary salubrity. The wet season extends from November to April; but the rains are neither frequent nor abundant, and they never occur at any other period of the year. In the southern valleys there is little snow; farther north it is more common, but it seldom lies long, except on the heights. Under such circumstances, it will be seen that little encouragement is offered for the cultivation of this part of Oregon. On the other hand, the plains and valleys appear to be admirably adapted for the support of cattle, as grass, either green or dry, may be found at all times, within a short distance, on the bottom lands or on the hill sides. The want of wood must also prove a great obstacle to settlement, as this indispensable article can only be procured from a great distance up the north branch of the Columbia, or from the Pacific region, with which the passages of communication through the mountains are few and difficult.

The country farther east, between the Blue Mountains and the Rocky Mountains, appears to be, except in a very few small detached spots, absolutely uninhabitable by those who depend on agriculture for subsistence. It is, in fact, a collection of bare, rocky mountain chains, separated by deep gorges, through which flow the streams produced by the melting of the snows on the summits; for in the lower grounds rain seldom falls at any time. On the borders of the Lewis, and of some of the streams falling into it, are valleys and prairies, producing grass for cattle; but all the attempts to cultivate the esculent vegetables have failed, chiefly, as it is believed, from the great difference in the temperature between the day and the succeeding night, especially in the summer, which is commonly not less than thirty, and often exceeds fifty, degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer.* North of the 48th parallel, the climate is less dry, and the

* The thermometer was seen by Wyeth, at Fort Hall, on the Lewis, near the 43d parallel of latitude, at the freezing point in the morning, and at ninety-two degrees of Fahrenheit in the middle of a day in August. Frosts occur at this place in nearly every month in the year.

bases of the mountains are covered with wood; but the temperature in most places is too cold for the production of any of the useful grains or garden vegetables. The parts of this region which appear to be the most favorable for agriculture, are those adjacent to the Clarke River, and particularly around the Kullerspelm, or Flathead Lake, where the hills are well clothed with oaks, elms, cedars, and pines, and the soil of the low grounds is of good quality.

New Caledonia is the name given by the British traders to the country extending north and west of the Columbia regions, to the 56th parallel of latitude. It is a sterile land of snow-clad mountains, tortuous rivers, and lakes frozen over nearly two thirds of the year; presenting scarcely a single spot in which any of the vegetables used as food by civilized people can be produced. The waters, like those of the country farther south, however, abound in fish, which, with berries, form the principal support of the native population. The largest lakes are the Babine, communicating with the ocean by Simpson's River, and Stuart's, Quesnel's, and Fraser's Lakes, the outlet of all which is Fraser's River, a long but shallow stream, emptying into the Strait of Fuca at its eastern extremity. The coast of this country is very irregular in outline, being penetrated by many bays and inlets, running up from the sea among the mountains which border that side of the continent; between it and the open Pacific lie the islands of the North-West Archipelago, which will be here described.

The North-West Archipelago is a remarkable collection of islands, situated in, and nearly filling a recess of the American coast, about seven hundred miles in length, and eighty or one hundred in breadth, which extends between the 48th and the 58th parallels of latitude; that is to say, between the same parallels as Great Britain. These islands are in number many thousands, presenting together a surface of not less than fifty thousand square miles; they are, however, with the exception of nine or ten, very small, and the greater part of them are mere rocks. The largest islands are all traversed, in their longest direction, from south-east to north-west, by mountain ridges; and the whole archipelago may be considered as a range connecting the Far-West mountains of Oregon with the great chain farther north, of which Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias are the most prominent peaks.

The coasts of these islands are, like those of the continent in their vicinity, very irregular in outline, including numerous bays and inlets; and the channels between them are, with one exception, narrow and tortuous. These coasts and channels were minutely surveyed, during the period from 1785 to 1795, by navigators of various nations, chiefly with the view of discovering some northern passage of communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic; and the true geographical character of the islands, which had previously been regarded as parts of the continent, was thus ascertained. The British, under Vancouver, made the most complete examination of the archipelago, and bestowed on the islands, channels, capes, and bays, a number of names, nearly all drawn from the lists of the British royal family, peerage, and parliament, some of which still retain their places on maps, though few of them will probably be used when those parts of America are occupied by a civilized population.

Of the interior of the islands little is known; but from all accounts, they are generally rocky and barren. The climate of the southernmost

islands appears to resemble that of the western region of Oregon, except that it is less dry in summer; farther north, the rainy season increases in length, but the accompanying increase in the coldness of the atmosphere neutralizes any advantages for cultivation which might be derived from the more constant supply of moisture. Wood, however, seems to be every where abundant near the coasts; and this may prove important, as the channels of the archipelago offer great facilities for communication by steam vessels.

It has been already said that Russia claims all the coasts and islands north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes. The islands south of that line which are here considered as attached to Oregon, lie in three groups.

The southernmost group embraces one large island and an infinite number of smaller ones, extending from the 49th parallel to the 51st, and separated from the continent, on the south and east, by the channel called the Strait of Fuca. The main island received, in 1792, the long and inconvenient appellation of Island of Quadra and Vancouver, in virtue of a compromise between a British and a Spanish commander, each claiming the merit of having ascertained its insolation. It is the largest in the archipelago, and, indeed, on the whole west coast of America, being about two hundred and fifty miles in length, by an average breadth of forty-five miles. On its south-western side are several large bays containing islands, among which are some good ports, formerly much frequented by fur traders. The principal of these places is Nootka or King George's Sound, opening to the Pacific in the latitude of $49\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, between Woody Point, on the north, and Point Breakers, on the south; and offering a safe harbor for vessels in Friendly Cove, about eight miles from the ocean. Near Nootka, on the west, is another bay, called Clioquot; farther in the same direction, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, is Nittinat; and within the strait are several other harbors, generally protected by small islands. Nootka Sound was, in 1789, the scene of occurrences which gave to it much celebrity, as they first rendered the north-west coasts of America the subject of dispute and convention between the governments of European nations.

Queen Charlotte's Island, so called by the British, or Washington's Island, as it was named by the Americans in 1789, forms the centre of another group, situated between the latitudes of 52 and 54 degrees, at a considerable distance from the continent. The principal island is of triangular form, and is rather smaller in superficial extent than the Island of Quadra and Vancouver, though larger than any other in the archipelago. Its north-western extremity received from the Spanish navigator Perez, who discovered it in 1774, the name of Cape Santa Margarita, but is now generally known as Cape North; the north-east end was called by the Americans Sandy Point, and afterward, by the Spaniards, Cape Invisible; the southern extremity is Cape St. James. The island presents a number of bays, affording good harbors, which were first examined, surveyed, and named, by the American fur traders; and afterwards received from British and Spanish navigators the appellations usually assigned to them on maps. The principal of these bays are, on the northern side, Hancock's River, the Port Estrada of the Spaniards, near Sandy Point, and Craft's Sound, or Port Mazarredo, a little farther west; on the Pacific coast are Port Ingraham, near North Cape, and Magee's Sound, in the latitude of $52\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; on the eastern side of the island are

Skitikis, in latitude of 53 degrees 20 minutes, Cumshawawa, a few miles farther south, and still farther in the same direction, Port Ucah and Port Sturges. The country around some of these places, especially Hancock's River and Magee's Sound, is described by the American fur traders as fertile and beautiful, and enjoying a milder climate than any other parts of the north-west coasts.

The Princess Royal's, Burke's, and Pitt's Islands form a third division of the North-West Archipelago, lying near to each other and to the continent, immediately east of Queen Charlotte's Island. They are all small and rocky, and nothing worthy of note appears in the accounts of them.

To the aboriginal inhabitants of Oregon it would be inconsistent with the plan of this work to devote much attention. They are all savages; and they make no figure in the history of the country, over the destinies of which they have not exerted, and probably never will exert, any influence. The principal tribes are the Clatsops and Chenooks, occupying the country on each side of the Columbia, near its mouth; the Klamets and Killamucks, of the Umqua; the Classets, on the Strait of Fuca; the Kootanies, and the Salish or Flatheads, of the country about the northern branches of the Columbia, and the Shoshones, the Sahaptins or Nez-perces, the Kayouses, Walla-Wallas, and Chopunnish, who rove through the regions of the Lewis branch. These tribes differ in habits and disposition only so far as they are affected by the mode of life which the nature of the country occupied by them respectively compels them to adopt; the people of the sea-coasts, who venture out upon the ocean, and attack the whale, being generally much bolder and more ferocious than those of the middle country, who derive their subsistence by the quiet and unexciting employments of fishing in the river and digging for roots. Among the peculiar habits of some of the tribes should be mentioned that of compressing the heads of their infants by boards and bandages, so as materially to alter their shape; which induced the discoverers of the country to apply to those people the name of Flathead Indians. This custom appears to have prevailed chiefly among the tribes of the lower Columbia, and but little among those dwelling on the northern branches of the river, to whom the appellation of Flatheads is, however, at present confined. The Blackfeet, so much dreaded by travellers in the middle region, chiefly inhabit the country east of the Rocky Mountains, on the Yellowstone, and the Missouri above its falls, and annually make inroads upon the Shoshones and the Chopunnish, whom they rob of their horses, their only wealth. The principal tribes in the country north of the Columbia regions, are the Chilcotins and the Talcotins, between whom the most deadly hostility subsists. The natives of the North-West Archipelago are the most cunning and ferocious of all these savages; particularly those of the vicinity of Nootka, who appear also to be the most intelligent. The number of the aborigines of all those territories cannot be ascertained, but it is supposed not to exceed thirty thousand, and is every where diminishing.

Among these people, missionaries of various Christian sects have long been laboring with assiduity, though, as it would seem, from all accounts, with little advantage. The Roman Catholics have made the greatest number of converts, if we assume the reception of baptism as the test of conversion; whole tribes submitting at once, on the first summons, to the rite. The Methodists and Presbyterians employ themselves chiefly in

imparting a knowledge of the simplest and most useful arts, and have thus induced some of the natives to engage regularly in agricultural pursuits; but the poverty of the soil generally renders their efforts in this way unavailing. The last-mentioned missionaries also endeavor to convey religious and literary instruction to the Indians through the medium of their own languages, into which books have been translated and printed in the country. Perhaps it would be better to teach the natives to speak and read English; but the other system has been generally adopted by American missionaries in all parts of the world.

The civilized inhabitants of Oregon are, as already mentioned in the General View, either citizens of the United States or servants of the British Hudson's Bay Company: the latter body enjoying, by special grant from the government, the use of all the territories claimed by Great Britain west of the Rocky Mountains, as well as the protection of British laws, in virtue of an act of Parliament; whilst the citizens of the United States remain independent of all authority and jurisdiction whatever.

The establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company have been, until recently, devoted exclusively to the purposes of the fur trade: but, within a few years past, several farms have been laid out and worked, under the direction of the agents of the company; and large quantities of timber are cut, and salmon are taken and cured, for exportation to the Russian possessions, to Mexico, and to the Sandwich Islands. The furs are obtained partly by hunters and trappers, in the regular service of the company, but chiefly by trade with the Indians of the surrounding country; and they are transported from the different establishments in the interior, either to Montreal or to York Factory on Hudson's Bay, or to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, whence they are sent in the company's vessels to London. The goods for the trade, and the supply of the establishments, are received in the same manner; the interior transportation being performed almost entirely in boats, on the rivers and lakes, between which the articles are carried on the backs of the *voyageurs* or boatmen. The regular servants of the company, in the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, are, a chief factor, two chief traders, and about four hundred clerks, traders, *voyageurs*, &c.; besides whom, nearly as many laborers from Canada and from Europe are employed on the farms, and Indians are occasionally engaged when wanted. The factors, traders, and clerks, are, for the most part, Scotchmen or Canadians; the hunters and other regular servants are nearly all half-breeds. The company maintains on the Pacific coasts one steamer and six or eight sail vessels, all armed, and three large ships conduct the communications between the Columbia and London.

The establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company are generally called forts, and are sufficiently fortified to resist any attacks which might be expected. Those beyond the Rocky Mountains are in number about twenty-two, of which several, including all the largest, are near the coasts.

Fort Vancouver, the principal of these establishments west of the Rocky Mountains, is situated near the north bank of the Columbia, at the distance of eighty-two miles in a direct line from its mouth, and about one hundred and twenty miles following the course of the stream. The fort is simply a large, square, picketed enclosure, containing houses for the residence of the factor, traders, clerks, and upper servants of the company, magazines for the furs and goods, and workshops of various

kinds; immediately behind it are a garden and orchard, and behind these is the farm, of about six hundred acres, with barns and all other necessary buildings. West of the fort are the hospital and houses for the *voyageurs* and Indians; about two miles lower down the river are the dairy and piggery, with numerous herds of cattle, hogs, &c.; and about three miles above the fort are water-mills for grinding corn and sawing plank, and sheds for curing salmon. The number of persons usually attached to the post is not less than seven hundred, of whom more than half are Indians of the country, the others being natives of Great Britain, Canadians, and half-breeds. The whole establishment is governed nearly on the plan of one of the small towns of Central Europe during the middle ages; the stockade fort representing the baronial castle, in which the great dignitaries of the company exercise almost absolute authority.

Fort George, at the distance of ten miles from the Pacific, on the south bank of the Columbia, occupies the site of a trading establishment called Astoria, formed by the Americans in 1811, which was taken by the British during the war in 1813, and, though subsequently restored in virtue of the treaty of Ghent, has never since been re-occupied by citizens of the United States. The first buildings were destroyed by fire in 1820; after which, some small houses were erected by the Hudson's Bay Company on the same spot, where a trader and three or four other persons generally reside. Fort Umqua is near the mouth of the Umqua River, which enters the Pacific about a hundred and eighty miles south of the Columbia, and affords a harbor for small vessels. Fort Nasqually is at the mouth of a little river emptying into Puget's Sound, the southernmost part of the great bay called Admiralty Inlet, which extends southwardly into the continent from the Strait of Fuca: near it the Hudson's Bay Company has large farms, which are said to be in a prosperous condition; this place is also the seat of a Roman Catholic mission, under the direction of a bishop *in partibus*, (the bishop of Juliopolis,) whose influence is, no doubt, important to the company, as the majority of its servants are of that religion. Fort Langley is at the entrance of Fraser's River into the eastern extremity of the Strait of Fuca, in latitude of 49 degrees 25 minutes; farther north is Fort M'Loughlin, on Milbank Sound, and Fort Simpson, on Douglas Island, in the North-West Archipelago, in latitude 54½ degrees. The company has moreover made an agreement with the Russians, who claim the coasts and islands north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, by which the British traders enjoy the exclusive use of the coasts of the continent, extending from that parallel to Cape Spenser, near the 58th degree; and a post has been in consequence established near the mouth of the Stikine, a large river emptying into the channel called Prince Frederick's Sound, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes.

In the interior of the continent, the Hudson's Bay Company has on the Columbia, above its falls, Fort Walla-Walla, or Nez-Percé, on the east side of the northern branch, near its confluence with the southern; Fort Okinagan, at the entrance of the Okinagan River into the north or main branch; Fort Colville, near the Kettle Falls; and some others, of less consequence. On the Lewis, or great southern branch, are Fort Boisé, at the mouth of the Boisé, or Reed's River, and Fort Hall, at the entrance of the Portneuf. North of the Columbia country are Fort Alexandria, on Fraser's River, and others on the lakes, which abound in

that part of the continent. All these are, however, on a very small scale, and seldom contain more than two or three clerks or traders, and a few Indians or half-breed hunters.

The citizens of the United States in Oregon, previous to 1843, did not probably exceed four hundred in number, nearly all of whom were established as farmers, graziers, or mechanics, in the valley of the Willamet, and on the Walla-Walla; very few being engaged in any commercial pursuit. Their condition appears to have been prosperous, in consequence, there is reason to believe, of their industry, economy, and morality, rather than of any particular advantages offered by the country. The Protestant missionaries reside on the Willamet, at the Falls of the Columbia, near Walla-Walla, in the Spokan and Kotanie countries, and in some other places, where they labor for their own support, as well as for the improvement and conversion of the natives. The first printing press, west of the Rocky Mountains, was set up at the Walla-Walla mission, in 1839; on it books are now printed from types set up by native compositors. The Roman Catholics, from Missouri, have also several stations, principally in the regions of the Clarke River, in which they appear to be laboring diligently for the advancement of their own religion.

The number of American citizens in Oregon was, however, nearly quadrupled, in the latter part of 1843, by the arrival of more than a thousand persons—men, women, and children—from the Mississippi valley;* and a still greater number went thither in the following year. These emigrants will, most probably, likewise establish themselves in the Willamet valley, or on the Umqua, in which regions there is a sufficiency of good land for the support of more than a hundred thousand persons; and they will be able at once to obtain the means of subsistence, as the majority of them have been doubtless accustomed from their childhood to the labors and privations incident to the settlement of a new country. Few of them will be disposed to fix their residence in the territory north of the Columbia, which is claimed by Great Britain, until the question of right between that power and the United States shall have been definitively determined.

The trappers and hunters from the United States have been compelled, in consequence of the exclusive measures adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company, to quit the regions of the Columbia, and confine themselves to the north-western part of California, about the head-waters of the Colorado River and the Utah Lake. In the summer of each year, they repair, with the produce of their labors, to certain places of rendezvous, where they meet the traders, bringing clothes, hardware, arms, ammunition, groceries, and other articles, from Missouri; and an exchange of merchandise is effected to the benefit of both parties. The principal rendezvous is on the banks of the Sidskadee or Green River, one of the confluent of the Colorado, situated near the western extremity of the great gap in the Rocky Mountains, called the South Pass, through which all the communications between the regions of the Mississippi on the one side, and Oregon and California on the other, are conducted.

* According to an enumeration made at their encampment on the Big Blue River, soon after their departure from the Missouri, the numbers of the emigrants in 1843, were 558 males and 442 females, of all ages, making a total of 1000. They carried with them 121 wagons, 396 horses, 696 oxen in draught, and 973 loose cattle.

These communications are effected entirely by land; for, although the unoccupied territories of the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains, are traversed by the Missouri, and its great tributaries the Yellow Stone, the Platte, the Kansas, and the Osage, and further south, by the Arkansas and Red rivers emptying into the Mississippi, these streams afford few facilities, either for travel, or for the transportation of goods. The Missouri river is useful for communication with Oregon, no farther up than the mouth of the Platte; and the latter river, though its position and course are precisely such as could be desired, is so shallow, and presents so many impediments to navigation, that the lightest boat cannot ascend, or descend it, without much difficulty, even when its waters are highest. To what distance the Arkansas and Red rivers may be ascended by boats, is not yet determined; but, it is probable, that the head of navigation, of the Arkansas, is nearer to the best passes in the Rocky Mountains, than the mouths of the Kansas, or the Platte.

The town of Independence, in the State of Missouri, near the confluence of the Kansas with the Missouri, is now the usual place of departure, and arrival, to and from Oregon, and New Mexico. The route to Oregon, extends along the Kansas and its northern branch, called the Republican Fork, towards the Platte; then along the main Platte and its northern branch, to Fort Laramie, a private fur-trading post, situated at the junction of the north branch, with a small stream from the south, called Larâmie's Fork, seven hundred and fifty miles from Independence.

From this place, the road, or trail, continues along the Platte, and through the Black Hills, an irregular range skirting the Rocky Mountains, to the south pass in the latter chain, where lie the sources of the Platte, distant two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Laramie. A march of a few hours through this pass, brings the traveller to the Sandy River, a branch of the Green, or Sidskadee River, the main stream of the Colorado: crossing the Green River, and ascending one of its western tributaries called Ham's Fork, he thence passes over a small ridge to the Bear River, the principal feeder of the Utah Salt Lake; this he follows, north-westward, to the Soda or Beer Springs, and thence, crossing another ridge, he reaches the valley of the Portneuf, down which, he makes his way to Fort Hall, a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the confluence of the Lewis with the Portneuf, two hundred and fifty miles from the South Pass, and one thousand two hundred and fifty miles from Independence.

Another route from Independence to the Colorado, has been surveyed in 1844, by Lieutenant Fremont during his long and laborious expedition, through Oregon and California, of which a Report will soon be published. From the manner in which this accomplished officer conducted his survey of the valley of the Platte, there is every reason to expect that he will throw much light on the geography of those countries, particularly of the region between the Utah Lake, and the Bay of San Francisco.

The route to Fort Hall, presents comparatively few difficulties, and is traversed, every summer, by hundreds of wagons. The remainder of the journey is attended with many inconveniences; some, arising from the nature of the ground, which may, however, be lessened or removed, by the application of labor, at certain points; and others, from the want of water and food, for cattle. Travellers, with wagons, generally follow the Lewis, from Fort Hall, down to the vicinity of the entrance of the river

into the Blue Mountains, and thence, go northward, to the upper part of the Boisé or Reed's River, through the valley of which, they regain the Lewis, at the Hudson's Bay Company's post of Fort Boisé; there they cross the Lewis, and thence, strike over the country, through the beautiful valley called the Grand Round, to the confluence of the Walla-Walla with the main Columbia, five hundred miles from Fort Hall. Those on foot, or on horseback, find more direct lines of communication between these two places.

Below the Walla-Walla, the obstacles to the passage of wheel carriages, are, at present, such as to preclude the use of them almost entirely; and the numerous rapids and whirlpools in the Columbia, render the voyage down to the Falls of that river, exceedingly dangerous. Near the termination of the cascades, or lowest falls, is Fort Vancouver, distant two hundred and fifty miles from the Walla-Walla, and one hundred and twenty-five from the Pacific: and six miles below that Fort, is the mouth of the Willamet, in the upper part of the valley of which river, the American settlements are mostly situated.

The passage across the Continent, through the British territories, is much longer, and more circuitous: it is effected, as already said, chiefly in canoes on the rivers and lakes; the rest of the journey being performed on foot, or in some places, on horseback. The traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, leaving Fort Vancouver, ascend the Columbia and its northern branch, alternately on the river, and along its banks, about eight hundred miles, to the Pass in the Rocky Mountains, near the 52d degree of latitude. Thence, they cross, by land, five hundred miles, to Edmonton, on the north branch of the Saskatchewan, which river they descend, to Norway House, near the northern extremity of Lake Winnipeg, distant not less than twelve hundred miles from Edmonton. From Norway House, they go, either to York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, distant about eight hundred miles, or through Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake, Savannah River, and other connecting waters, to Fort William, the great depository of the Company, at the north-west extremity of Lake Superior, about eight hundred miles from Norway House, and nine hundred from Montreal. Another route from the Rocky Mountain gap, to Fort William, passes along the south branch of the Saskatchewan, the Assinaboin, and the Red River country; but the portages are so much longer, that it is little used for transportation of articles across the continent.

Thus it appears that the distance to the Lower Columbia, from the frontiers of Canada, is about twelve hundred miles greater than from the westernmost point in the States of the American Union. The journey through the British territories, is indeed performed at present, in less time, by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, than the caravans of men, women and children, from the United States, employ in their passage along the Platte, and the Lewis: but the road for the latter will be constantly improving, and the journey must annually become less in actual distance, and much less laborious and tedious; whilst the more northern route will forever remain in its present condition, scarcely passable by any, except the hardy and experienced traders, and voyageurs of the British Company.

RUSSIAN AMERICA.

Russia claims, as already said, in virtue of the discoveries and settlements of her subjects, and of treaties with the United States and Great Britain, the whole division of the American continent, and the adjacent islands, north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and west of a line drawn from that latitude, northward, along the highlands bordering the Pacific Ocean to Mount St. Elias, and thence due north to the Arctic Sea. This power also claims the whole of Asia, extending on the Pacific north of the 51st parallel, all the Aleutian Islands, and all the Kurile Islands, north of the latitude of 45 degrees 40 minutes.

Of the parts of America thus claimed by Russia, the islands and the coasts of the continent have been explored, and some have been surveyed with care; several rivers, also, have been traced to considerable distances from their mouths: the interior regions are, however, but little known, and, from all accounts, they do not seem to merit the labor and expense which would be required for their complete examination. Only small portions of the islands are fit for agriculture, or for any purpose useful to man, except fishing and hunting; the remaining territories present to the eye nothing but rocks, snow, and ice.

The exclusive use and government of all the islands and ports of America above mentioned are granted by charter from the emperor of Russia to a body called the Russian American Trading Company, which has established on their coasts a number of forts, settlements, and factories, all devoted to the purposes of the fur trade and fishery; the coast of the continent, south-west of the 58th degree of latitude, has, however, been, as already mentioned, leased to the Hudson's Bay Company until the 1st of June, 1850, at an annual rent, payable in furs. The inhabitants of the Kurile, the Aleutian, and the Kodiak Islands are regarded as the immediate subjects of the company; in the service of which, every man, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, may be required to pass at least three years. The natives of the country adjoining the two great bays called Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound, are also under the control of this body, and are obliged to pay an annual tax in furs, though they are not compelled to enter the regular service. All the other aborigines are considered as independent, except that they are allowed to trade only with the Russian American company. By the latest accounts, the number of Russian establishments was twenty-six, all situated south of Bering's Strait. The immediate subjects of the company were seven hundred and thirty Russians, fourteen hundred and forty-two Creoles, or children of Russian fathers by native mothers, and eleven thousand aborigines of the Kurile, Aleutian, and Kodiak Islands; the number of the natives inhabiting the other regions cannot be ascertained, but must be very small, when compared with the extent of the surface.

The Russian American territories are politically divided into six

districts, each of which is under the direction of an agent; the whole being superintended by a governor-general, usually an officer of the Russian navy, residing at the capital of the possessions. The furs are collected either by persons in the regular service of the company, or as taxes from its subjects, or by trade with the independent natives; and they are transported in its vessels to Petropawlowsk in Kamtchatka, or to Ochotsk, in Siberia, or, by special permission of the Chinese government, to Canton, or to the European ports of Russia; the supplies being received from those places by the same vessels.

The district of Sitka comprehends the islands of the North-West Archipelago, and the coasts of the American continent, northward from the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, to Mount St. Elias. The islands are six large, and an infinite number of smaller ones, separated from each other, and from the main land, by narrow, but generally navigable channels. The large islands are those distinguished on English maps as Prince of Wales's Island, the southernmost, between which and the continent, on the east, are the Duke of York's and the Revillagigedo Islands; farther north, on the ocean, is King George the Third's Archipelago, including Baranof's and Tchichagof's Islands; and east of these latter are Admiralty and some other islands.

Opposite the western end of the channel, separating Baranof's from Tchichagof's Island, is a small island, consisting of a single and beautiful conical peak, rising from the ocean, which received from its Spanish discoverers, in 1775, the name of Mount San Jacinto, but is better known by the English appellation of Mount Edgecumb; a narrow passage, called Norfolk Sound, separates it from Baranof's Island, on the shore of which stands Sitka, or New Archangel, the capital of Russian America. This is a small town, of wooden houses, covered mostly with iron, protected, or rather overlooked, by batteries, and inhabited by about a thousand persons, of whom nearly one half are Russians, the majority of the others being Creoles. The governor's house is large and substantially built, and is surmounted by a lighthouse; the fortifications, which are also of wood, are armed by about forty guns: attached to the establishment are an extensive arsenal, including a ship-yard, a foundery, and shops for various artificers, a hospital, and a church, splendidly adorned in the interior. Sitka, moreover, though thus remote from all civilized countries, contains several schools, in which the children are instructed at the expense of the company, a library of two thousand volumes, a cabinet of natural history, and an observatory supplied with the instruments most necessary for astronomical and magnetic observations.

On comparing the results of meteorological observations, it appears that the mean temperature of every month of the year, at Sitka, is higher than that of any place in America, east of the Rocky Mountains, within several degrees of the same latitude. No attempts at cultivation have, however, been made there or in any other part of Russian America, except at the settlement of Ross, in California, on a scale sufficiently large to authorize any opinions as to the agricultural value of the soil.

The district of Kodiak comprises all the coasts from the North-West Archipelago, northward and westward, to the southern extremity of the peninsula of Aliaska, with the adjacent islands, as also a portion of the coast of the Sea of Kamtchatka, on the north-west side of Aliaska. The largest island is Kodiak, situated near the east coast of Aliaska, from

which it is separated by the Strait of Schelikof, and containing, on its north-east side, St. Paul's, an inconsiderable place, formerly the capital of Russian America. North of Kodiak, an arm of the ocean, called by the English Cook's Inlet, and by Russians the Gulf of Kenay, stretches northwardly into the continent nearly two hundred miles; east of which, and separated from it by a peninsula, is another great bay, called Prince William's Sound, or the Gulf of Tschugatsch, containing a number of islands; and still farther east is Comptroller's Bay, into which empties Copper River, the largest stream flowing from this part of America. Each of these bays was minutely examined by Cook, in 1778, and by Vancouver, in 1794, while in search of a passage to the Atlantic; and several good harbors were thus discovered, on the shores of which the Russians have formed trading establishments.

The most remarkable natural feature of this part of America is, however, the great volcanic peak of Mount St. Elias, which rises from the shore of the Pacific, under the 61st parallel of latitude, to the height of more than seventeen thousand feet above the ocean level. Near it, on the south-east, is Mount Fairweather, only two thousand feet less in elevation; and between the two peaks lies Admiralty, or Bering's, or Yakutat Bay, where the Russian navigators Bering and Tchirikof are supposed to have first anchored on their voyage of discovery from Kamtchatka, in 1741.

The peninsula of Aliaska is a chain of lofty volcanic mountains, stretching through the Pacific from the latitude of 59 degrees south-westward to that of 54 degrees 40 minutes. The most elevated peak, called Mount Scheschaldin, is frequently in action, throwing forth large quantities of lava and ashes. Near the southern extremity of the peninsula, on the east, is the group of small islands, called the Schumagin Islands; and from the same extremity, as if in continuation of the peninsula, the Aleutian Islands extend, at short distances apart, in a line nearly due westward, more than six hundred miles, to the vicinity of Kamtchatka.

The Aleutian Islands include two districts of the Russian American possessions. The easternmost and largest islands of the archipelago, called the Fox Islands, among which are Unimak, Unalashka, and Umnak, and the small group of the Pribulow Islands, lying a little farther north and west of Aliaska, form the district of Unalashka. The district of Atcha comprises the other islands, which are small, and are divided into three groups, called the Rat, the Andreanowsky, and the Commodore Islands. These islands are all mountains, rising above the sea, some of them, to a great height: only the larger ones are inhabited, or indeed habitable; the others are visited at certain periods by the Russian hunters and fishermen, in search of the animals which abound on their shores. The principal settlement is Illiluk, on the Bay of Samagoondha, in the north-east part of Unalashka, which is also the residence of a bishop of the Greek church.

The northern, or Michaelof, district includes all the territories and islands of America, north of Aliaska, bordering on the division of the Pacific, called the Sea of Kamtchatka, which extends from the Aleutian Islands to Bering's Strait: the only establishments, however, are those on the shores of the great gulf of that sea, called Norton's Sound, south of the 64th parallel of latitude. The principal of these establishments is Port St. Michael, near Stuart's Island, to which furs, skins, oil, and

ivory tusks, are brought by the Esquimaux and Tchukskies from the islands near Bering's Strait and the shores of the Arctic Sea. Several expeditions have been recently made by Russian officers into the interior of these countries, in which two large rivers, the Kwikpak and the Kuskokwim, emptying into the sea between the 60th and the 63d degrees of latitude, were traced to great distances from their mouths.

The part of Asia bathed by the Sea of Kamtchatka, like the opposite part of America, is a waste of snow-covered rocks, among which rise chains of lofty mountains. The principal of these chains extends southward through the Pacific from the 60th parallel of latitude, forming the great peninsula of Kamtchatka: south of which stretch the Kurile Islands, south of these the Japan Islands, and still farther south, the Philippine Islands; all forming parts of the same line of volcanoes which extends along the west coasts of North America. The only place of importance in Kamtchatka is Petropawlowsk, a small town situated on the Bay of Avatscha, in the south-east part of the peninsula, in latitude of 53 degrees 58 minutes. Near the point where the peninsula joins the continent stands another small town, called Ochotsk, on the northernmost shore of the Gulf of Ochotsk, which separates Kamtchatka from the main land on the west.

The Kurile Islands are twenty-two in number, of which nineteen are subject to Russia, and the others to Japan. The Russian Islands form one district of the Russian American Company's possessions; they are all small, and of little value, many of them being entirely without springs of fresh water. The Russians have but one establishment on them, called Semussir, in Urup, the southernmost of the islands, from which some seal-skins are annually carried to Petropawlowsk and Ochotsk.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

These islands, sometimes called the Hawaiian Archipelago, are situated in the north-west division of the Pacific, nearly due south of Aliaska, and west of the southern extremity of California, at nearly equal distances—that is, about two thousand five hundred miles—from each of those parts of America, and from the Bay of San Francisco. Their distance from Canton is about five thousand miles. They are ten in number, extending, in a curved line, about three hundred miles in length, from the 19th degree of latitude, north-westward, to the 22d: their whole superficial extent is estimated at six thousand six hundred square miles, and the number of their population, by the latest accounts, was about one hundred and fifty thousand.

The south-easternmost of the islands, embracing two thirds of the surface, and more than half of the population, of the whole, is Owyhee, (or Hawaii, according to the orthography adopted by the American missionaries.)* North-west of Owyhee is Mowee, (or Maui,) the second in size of the islands, with about twenty thousand inhabitants. Near Mowee, on the west, are Tahoerowa, (Kahulawe,) Morokini, (Molokini,) Ranai, (Lanai,) and Morotai, (Molokai,) all of them small and unimportant. Farther in the same direction is Woahoo, (Oahu,) nearly as large

* See account of this system at p. 330 of the History.

and populous as Mowee, and perhaps the most valuable of all the islands, agriculturally and commercially; and eighty miles farther west are the large island of Atooi, (Kauai,) and the smaller ones of Oneehow, (Nihau,) and Tahoorā, (Kaula,) which complete the number of the group.

The islands are all mountainous and volcanic. On Owyhee are three great peaks — Mowna Roa, (Mauna Loa,) fourteen thousand feet high, Mowna Kea, and Mowna Hualalei, from which eruptions occasionally take place more extensive in their effects than any others on record, except, perhaps, those in Iceland. They, nevertheless, contain large tracts of fine land, which, under the influence of a regular and genial climate, are made to yield all the productions of the tropical, and many of those of the temperate regions; and they are probably destined to be to the countries bordering upon the North Pacific what the West Indies are to those on the North Atlantic. They remain in the possession of their aboriginal occupants, who appear to evince considerable aptitude to receive instruction, and have, with the aid of some missionaries from the United States, established a regular government, in the form of a hereditary monarchy, under constitutional restrictions. The native population is, however, rapidly diminishing, while that of foreigners, especially from the United States, is increasing.

The principal ports in the islands are Honoruru, (Honolulu,) on the south side of Woahoo, and Lahaina, on the west side of Mowee. The town of Honoruru contains about ten thousand inhabitants; it is much frequented, especially by the whaling vessels of the United States; and property to a great amount in manufactured articles, provisions, oil, &c., belonging to American citizens, is often deposited there. Owyhee has no good harbor, and the only places in it where vessels find secure anchorage are the Bays of Karakakooa, (Kealakeakua,) in which Captain Cook was murdered in 1779, and Toyahyah, (Kawaihae,) on the west side of the island.

About two thousand miles south-east from the Sandwich Islands are the Marquesas Islands, of which the five northernmost, the most important in the group, discovered in April, 1791, by Captain Ingraham, of the brig *Hope*, of Boston, and named the Washington Islands, were occupied, in 1842, by the French. Six hundred miles south-west of these lie the Society Islands, of which the largest, Otaheite, or Tahiti, according to the new nomenclature, has been the subject of contention between France and Great Britain, in consequence of the attempts of the former power to take possession of it. The Marquesas are small, rocky, and unproductive, and cannot afford support to more than a small number of civilized people; so that the French will probably find it prudent to abandon them. Otaheite, on the contrary, contains a large extent of the richest soil, and has every other requisite for a valuable possession to a maritime and commercial nation.

PROJECTS FOR CANALS UNITING THE TWO OCEANS.

It will also be proper, in conclusion, to offer some observations on a subject which may be considered worthy of interest here, from its apparent connection with the destinies of North-West America.

The only means of communication for vessels between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans at present known or believed to exist, are through the seas south of the southern extremities of America and Africa; and each of these routes being circuitous and dangerous, the question as to the practicability of a canal, for the passage of ships through the central parts of the American continent where those seas are separated by narrow tracts of land, has been frequently agitated. Humboldt, in his justly-celebrated essay on Mexico, indicated nine places in America, in which the waters of the two oceans, or of streams entering into them respectively, are situated at short distances apart. Of these places it is necessary here to notice but three, to each of which attention has been strongly directed, at different times, and especially of late years, in the expectation that such a navigable passage for ships might be effected through it. They are, — the Isthmus of Panamá — Nicaragua — and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

With regard to the last-mentioned of these places, it has been determined, by accurate surveys, that the mountain chain, separating the two oceans, is nowhere less than a thousand feet in height above the level of the sea; and that a canal connecting the River Guasecualco, flowing into the Mexican Gulf, with the Pacific, must pass through an open cut of nearly that depth, or a tunnel, in either case more than thirty miles in length, as there is no water on the summit to supply locks, should it be found practicable to construct them. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec, however, offers many advantages for travellers, and even for the transportation of precious commodities, especially to the people of the United States. The mouth of the Guasecualco River, on its northern shore, is less than seven hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, and only one hundred miles by the road from a port on the Pacific, near Tehuantepec, which might be made a good harbor; so that even now a traveller might go in a fortnight from Washington to the Pacific coast, and thence, by a steam vessel, in ten days more, to the mouth of the Columbia, or to the Sandwich Islands.

In Nicaragua, it has been proposed to improve the navigation of the San Juan River, from its mouth on the Mosquito coast, to the great Lake of Nicaragua, from which it flows, or to cut a canal from the Atlantic to that lake, whence another canal should be made to the Pacific. Now, without enumerating the many other obstacles to this plan, any one of them sufficient to defeat it, were all things besides favorable, it may be simply stated, that one mile of tunnel and two of very deep cutting through volcanic rock, in addition to many locks, will be required in the fifteen miles, which, by the shortest and least difficult route, must be passed between the lake and the Pacific. Is such a work practicable?

The Isthmus of Panamá remains to be considered. From recent and minute surveys, it has been proved that no obstacles to a ship-canal are presented by the *surface* of this isthmus, equal to those which have been

surmounted, in many instances of a similar nature, in Europe and in the United States. On the other hand, the country contains only a few inhabitants of the most wretched description, from whose assistance in the work no advantage in any way could be derived; so that all the laborers, with all their clothes, provisions, and tools, must be transported thither from a distance. The heat is at all times intense, and the wet season continues during eight months of the year; the rains in July, August, September, and October, being incessant, and heavier, perhaps, than in any other part of the world. As to salubrity, there is a difference of opinion; but it is scarcely possible that the extremes of heat and dampness, which are there combined, could be otherwise than deleterious to persons from Europe, or from the Northern States of the American Union, by whom the labor of cutting a canal must be performed, unless, indeed, it should be judged proper to employ negroes from the West Indies on the work.

It seems, therefore, that a canal is practicable across the Isthmus of Panamá: there is, however, not the slightest probability that it will be made during this century, if ever; the commercial utility of such a communication being scarcely sufficient to warrant the enormous expenses of its construction and maintenance. Ships from Europe or the United States, bound for the west coasts of America, or the North Pacific, or China, would probably pass through it, unless the tolls should be too heavy; but those returning from China would pursue the route around the Cape of Good Hope, which would be, in all respects, more advantageous for them, as well as for vessels sailing between the Atlantic coasts and India, or Australia. Not only is the direct distance from South Asia and Australia to the Atlantic coasts greater by way of the Pacific, but vessels taking that route must deviate very far from the direct course, in order to avoid the trade winds, which blow constantly westward over the intertropical parts of the Pacific.

As regards political effects, it may be assumed as certain, that, should the canal be made by any company or nation whatsoever, it will, in time, notwithstanding any precautions by treaty or otherwise, become the property of the greatest naval power, which will derive a vast increase of political strength from the possession.

HISTORY
OF
OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,
AND
THE OTHER COUNTRIES
ON THE
NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

HISTORY

OF

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

To 1543.

Preliminary Observations—Efforts of the Spaniards to discover Western Passages to India—Successive Discoveries of the West Indies, the North American Continent, the Eastern Passage to India, Brazil, and the Pacific Ocean—Search for a navigable Passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans—Supposed Discovery of such a Passage, called the *Strait of Anian*—Discovery of Magellan's Strait and the Western Passage to India—Conquest of Mexico by Cortés, who endeavors to discover new Countries farther north-west—Voyages of Maldonado, Hurtado de Mendoza, Grijalva, and Becerra—Discovery of California—Expedition of Cortés to California—Pretended Discoveries of Friar Marcos de Niza—Voyages of Ulloa, Alarcon, and Cabrillo—Expeditions of Coronado and Soto—The Spaniards desist from their Efforts to explore the North-West Coasts of America.

THE western coasts of North America were first explored by the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century. In order to convey a clear idea of the circumstances which led to their discovery, as well as of the claims and pretensions based upon it, a general view will be here presented of the proceedings and objects of Europeans with regard to the New World, from the period when its existence was ascertained, to that in which the exploration of its north-west coasts was begun.

The islands found by Columbus, in his voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, were supposed to be situated in the immediate vicinity of Asia, the eastern limits of which were then unknown; and their discovery was the result of endeavors to reach, by a western course, the shores of India, from which Europe chiefly derived its gold, silks, precious stones, and spices, and those of China and Japan, of the wealth of which empires vague accounts had been brought by travellers.

With the same objects in view, the Portuguese had been long engaged in exploring the Atlantic coast of Africa southward and eastward, in search of some channel or sea, by which their ships

might enter the Indian Ocean; being encouraged in their exertions by the Bull of Pope Nicholas V., issued in 1454, assuring to them the exclusive rights of navigation, trade, fishery, and conquest, in all seas and countries which they might find in that course, not before occupied by a Christian prince or people. They had, however, not reached the southern extremity of Africa when Columbus returned from his first voyage across the Atlantic; and, immediately afterwards, the united Spanish sovereigns procured from Pope Alexander VI. Bulls, granting to them and their successors, forever, exclusive privileges with regard to the seas and countries which might be found by navigating towards the west, similar to those conferred on the Portuguese, as to seas and countries east of the Atlantic.

Upon these extraordinary commissions, as bases, was founded the celebrated *Treaty of Partition of the Ocean*, concluded at Tordesillas, on the 7th of June, 1494, between the sovereigns of Spain and the king of Portugal, then the greatest maritime powers of Europe. By this treaty, the Portuguese were to enjoy and possess the exclusive rights of discovery, trade, conquest, and dominion, in all the seas and territories not previously belonging to a Christian prince or people, east of a meridian line passing three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands; and the Spaniards were to possess the same rights, in all seas and all pagan lands west of that line; no provision being made for the contingency of the meeting of the parties proceeding in these opposite directions. The two nations having thus, under the guaranty of the highest authority recognized in Europe, settled the conditions on which they were to appropriate to themselves, respectively, nearly all the sea and nearly all the land on the globe, without regard for the wishes or claims of any other people, each continued its search for a navigable passage to India, generally, though not always, within the limits assigned to it.

In this search the Portuguese were soon successful; for, in 1499, they sailed around the southern extremity of Africa, to India, where they established their dominion or their influence over many of those regions. They also, about the same time, obtained possession of Brazil, the coasts of which were found to extend east of the meridian of partition, to the great regret and constant annoyance of the Spaniards, who had hoped, by the treaty of 1494, to secure to themselves the exclusive sovereignty of all the countries on the western side of the Atlantic.

The English, however, disregarding the Papal prohibitions, immediately entered the career of discovery in the west; and, under their flag, John Cabot, first of all Europeans, reached the American continent in 1497. They were soon followed by the French, who, during the early part of the sixteenth century, made numerous expeditions across the Atlantic; and the Portuguese, notwithstanding the restrictions of the treaty of partition, also endeavored to find a passage to India in the same direction. It was, indeed, long believed that Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese navigator, who explored the coasts of Labrador in 1499 and 1500, had actually sailed through a narrow channel, named by him the *Strait of Anian*,* westward from the Atlantic, nearly in the course of the 58th parallel of latitude, into another great sea, communicating with the Indian Ocean. This channel may have been the same, now called *Hudson's Strait*, connecting the Atlantic with Hudson's Bay, the discovery of which is generally attributed to Sebastian Cabot; it was certainly known as the *Strait of Labrador* long before its entrance by the navigator whose name it bears. The belief in the existence of such a *north-west passage* to India, joining the Atlantic in the position assigned to the mouth of Cortereal's Strait of Anian, caused many voyages to be made to the coasts of northern America, on both sides, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many false reports to be circulated of the discovery of the desired channel; the effects of which reports, in promoting the exploration of those coasts, will be hereafter shown.

* "It is stated in several collections of voyages, that the name of *Anian* was given to the strait supposed to have been discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, in honor of two brothers, who accompanied him; but there are no grounds for such a supposition. * * In the earliest maps, *Ania* is marked as the name of the north-westernmost part of America. *Ani*, in the Japanese language, is said to signify *brother*; hence, probably, the mistake." (Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions, by John Barrow, page 45.)—In an article on the subject of a north-west passage, in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, supposed to have been written by Barrow, it is asserted that Cortereal "named the Strait of Anian, not in honor of two brothers who accompanied him, but because he deemed it to be the eastern extremity of a strait whose western end, opening into the Pacific, had already received that name." The value of this assertion may be estimated from the fact, that the ocean on the western side of America was not discovered by Europeans until thirteen years after Cortereal's voyage and death. The review abounds in similar errors.

Many of the most important errors in Barrow's Chronological History have been exposed by Mr. R. Biddle, in his admirable Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, to which the reader is referred for the most exact accounts, so far as they can be obtained, of these early voyages to the north-west coasts of the Atlantic. A concise and clear view of the results of these voyages will be found in the first chapter of Bancroft's History of the United States.

The Spaniards were, in the mean time, assiduously engaged in planting colonies in the countries newly found by them beyond the Atlantic, to which they gave the collective name of *West Indies*,* and in exploring the coasts in the vicinity of the islands first discovered, which were soon ascertained to be the borders of a vast continent. How far south this continent extended, and whether it was united, in the north, with Asia, or with the territories seen in that direction by the English and the Portuguese, remained to be determined; and, with those objects, the Spaniards persevered in their examinations, in which they were, moreover, encouraged by the constant assurances of the natives of the coasts and islands, respecting the existence of a great sea, and rich and powerful nations, towards the setting sun.

In 1513, this great sea was discovered, near the spot where Panamá now stands, by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the governor of the Spanish colony of Darien. It was naturally supposed to be the Southern Ocean, which bathed the shores of India; and, as its proximity to the Atlantic was at the same time ascertained, encouragement was afforded for the hope that the two great waters would be found connected in a position the most favorable for navigation between Europe and Asia. The examinations of the Spaniards were, in consequence, directed particularly to the coasts of the Isthmus of Darien, and were conducted with great zeal and perseverance, until the entire separation of the two oceans by land, in that quarter, had been proved. These researches were, however, also continued both north and south of the isthmus, until, at length, in 1520, Fernando Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese, in the naval service of Spain, discovered and sailed through the strait now bearing his name, into the sea found by Balboa, over which he pursued his voyage westward to India.

The great geographical question, as to the circumnavigation of the globe, was thus solved, though not in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Spaniards. The Strait of Magellan was intricate, and

* The name *America* was first applied to the New World in a work entitled "*Cosmographia Instructio, &c., insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii Navigationes*," written by Martin Waldseemüller, under the assumed name of *Hylacomylus*, and printed at Saint Die, in Lorraine, in 1507. This has been clearly proved by Humboldt, in his admirable "*Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*," in which many other interesting questions relating to the discovery of the New World are also discussed and satisfactorily determined. The Spaniards carefully avoided the use of the name *America* in their histories and official documents, in not one of which, anterior to the middle of the last century, can the word be found.

the passage through it was attended with great difficulties and dangers; besides which, it was itself almost as far from Europe as India by the eastern route. Other and more direct channels of communication between the Atlantic and the Southern Ocean might, indeed, be discovered: but the latter sea was found to be infinitely wider than had been supposed; and, although the part of it crossed by Magellan was so little disturbed by storms that he was induced to name it the *Pacific Ocean*, yet he also observed that the winds blew over it invariably from eastern points. These circumstances depressed the hopes of the Spaniards with respect to the establishment of their power in Southern Asia, though they continued their expeditions to that part of the world by way of Magellan's Strait, and their search for new passages into the Pacific. Their expeditions to India brought them into collision with the Portuguese,* who had already made several settlements in the Molucca Islands, and had obtained from the Chinese, in 1518, the possession, under certain qualifications, of the important port of Macao, near Canton; and many bloody conflicts took place, in consequence, between the subjects of those nations, in that distant quarter of the world, as well as many angry disputes between their governments, before the questions of right at issue could be settled.

In the mean time, other events occurred, which consoled the Spaniards for their disappointments with regard to India, and caused them to direct their attention more particularly to the New World.

Before the period of the departure of Magellan on his expedition, the Spaniards had, in fact, derived from their discoveries beyond the Atlantic but few of the advantages which they anticipated. They had found and taken possession of countries

* Spain claimed the exclusive navigation, trade, and conquest, westward, to the extremity of the peninsula of Malacca, so as to include all the Molucca Islands and China; while the Portuguese insisted on exercising the same privileges, without competition, eastward as far as the Ladrone Islands; each on the ground that the meridian of partition, settled with regard to the Atlantic, in 1494, would, if continued on the other side of the globe, pass in such a manner as to place the portions claimed by itself within its own hemisphere. The question was discussed between the two courts directly, and by their commissioners who met at Badajos in 1523, but without arriving at any definite arrangement. At length, on the 22d of April, 1529, a treaty was concluded at Saragossa, by the terms of which the king of Spain sold all his rights to the Moluccas to the king of Portugal for 350,000 ducats of gold, (\$3,080,000,) with the proviso that the latter might, by repaying the sum, be at liberty again to urge those rights. The sum was never repaid, and Spain did not again claim the islands; though, for a long period afterwards, the Spanish empire was represented on Spanish maps as extending westward to the extremity of Malacca.

extensive, rich in mines, productive in soil, and delightful in climate, but uncultivated, and thinly peopled by savages, who could neither by gentle nor by violent means be induced to labor regularly for others or for themselves; and, although the want of a working population was in part supplied by the introduction of negro slaves from Africa, there was little prospect that Spain would ever be much benefited by these distant colonies. While Magellan's ships were on their western route to India, however, the wealthy and powerful empire of Mexico, which had been discovered in 1518 by a party of Spaniards from Cuba, was conquered by Hernando Cortés; and Spain immediately became the richest nation of Europe. The reports of the brilliant results of this conquest drew to the West Indies crowds of adventurers, all eager to acquire wealth and renown by similar means; who, uniting in bands, under daring and experienced captains, ranged through both the western continents, seeking mines of precious metals to work, or rich nations to plunder. In this manner Peru was subjugated by Pizarro and his followers before 1535; the other expeditions were fruitless, as respects the principal objects in view, while, in the course of them, many distant shores and interior regions were explored, which would otherwise, perhaps, not have been visited for centuries. The acts of these demon heroes are recorded with minuteness in the stirring pages of the chronicles of their day; and curious narratives of several of their expeditions, written by persons engaged in them, have been preserved by the assiduity of Spanish, Italian, English, and Dutch collectors of historical tracts.

The desire to discover new passages of communication for vessels between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, was also a strong motive for the expeditions of the Spaniards along the coasts of the New World; and no one pursued this search with more zeal and perseverance than Hernando Cortés. Scarcely had he established the authority of his sovereign in Mexico, than he commenced the exploration of the adjoining seas and countries, with that object, as well as with the hope of finding other rich nations to subdue; and in such enterprises he spent a great portion of his time and resources, during his residence in America. In prosecution of his plans, chiefly, the long and in most places narrow territory, connecting Mexico with the southern continent, was carefully examined, until it had been ascertained that the two seas were separated by land throughout the whole extent. He, at the same

time, employed vessels in surveying the coasts of the Mexican Gulf, and those of the Atlantic, farther north; and he built others on the Pacific side, for similar purposes, two of which he sent, as early as 1526, to the East Indies, in aid of the armaments despatched thither from Spain, under Loyasa.*

The first expedition made by the Spaniards along the Pacific coasts, westward from Mexico, was conducted by Pedro Nuñez Maldonado, one of the officers of Cortés, who sailed from the mouth of the River of Zacatula in July, 1528, and passed nearly six months in surveying the shores between that point and the mouth of the River of Santiago, about a hundred leagues farther northwest. The territory of which this coast formed the southern border was then called Xalisco; it was entirely unknown to the Europeans, and was inhabited by fierce tribes of savages, who had never been subdued by the Mexicans. Maldonado brought back flattering accounts of its fertility, and of the abundance of precious metals in its interior, which did not fail to excite the attention of his employer, as well as of others among their countrymen.

Cortés was at that time in Spain, whither he had gone in 1528, chiefly with the object of obtaining some more definite recognition of his powers and rights in the New World than had been hitherto granted. He was received at Madrid with the most signal honors by his sovereign, the celebrated emperor Charles V.; and, on his return to Mexico, he carried with him patents, confirming him as captain-general of that country, then called New Spain, and creating him a grandee of Castile, with the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca; to which was attached the possession of vast tracts of country in America, including the port of Tehuantepec, on the Pacific. He also procured from the emperor a capitulation, or charter, empowering him to discover and conquer any islands in the

* The accounts of the early Spanish expeditions of discovery on the North Pacific side of America, contained in the present chapter, are derived from—the published letters of Cortés, and a number of letters and reports from him and other Spanish commanders, hitherto unpublished, copies of which, made from the originals in Madrid, were kindly placed at the disposition of the writer by W. H. Prescott, of Boston, the accomplished author of the *Histories of Ferdinand and Isabella*, and of the *Conquest of Mexico*—the *Historia General de las Indias*, by Herrera—the *Cronica de Nueva España*, by Gomara—the *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*, by Bernal Dias—the *Raccolte de Viaggi*, by Ramusio—the *Collection of Voyages and Discoveries*, by Hakluyt—the *History of Voyages in the Pacific*, by Burney—and the *Introduction to the Journal of the Voyage made, in 1792, by Captains Galiano and Valdes*, in the Spanish schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, published at Madrid, by order of the government, in 1802, to which references will also be frequently made in the succeeding chapters.

Pacific, or other countries west of Mexico, not within the limits assigned to any other Spanish governor; of which countries he and his heirs forever were to enjoy the government, and one twelfth of all the precious metals, pearls, and other advantages therefrom accruing, on condition of their treating the natives with kindness, and endeavoring to convert them to the Christian faith. The politic Charles did not, however, intrust such extensive powers to one so capable and ambitious as Cortés, without at the same time providing certain checks, by means of which the conqueror of Mexico might be effectually prevented from using his faculties for any other ends than enlarging the dominions of the crown of Castile. The expenses of all his expeditions were to be borne by himself; and he could do little, if any thing, without the assent of the Audiencia, or Royal Court and Board of Administration, established at Mexico, the members of which were chosen from among his most bitter enemies.

The only governor in the New World with whose claims Cortés might have been supposed to interfere, by expeditions westward from Mexico, was Nuño de Guzman, the president of the Audiencia, who had obtained from the emperor the government of Panuco, the country on the Gulf of Mexico surrounding the spot now occupied by the town of Tampico, and also that of Xalisco, of which he had received accounts from Maldonado and other adventurers. This person, one of the same stamp with Pizarro and Davila, had been assiduously engaged in undermining the authority and influence of Cortés; and no sooner did he learn that his rival was returning to Mexico as captain-general, than he assembled all the troops under his command in the capital, and marched for Xalisco, where he remained many years, subduing the country, and exterminating its aboriginal inhabitants.

Cortés thus, on his arrival in Mexico in July, 1530, found himself deprived of the means not only of making expeditions of discovery, but also of maintaining his authority in the kingdom; and he was obliged to wait two years before he could send a single vessel out on the Pacific. At length, by the middle of the year 1532, he had two ships ready for sea, which he determined to despatch on an exploratory voyage, along the western coast, whilst the others were in progress of construction at Tehuantepec.

At that period, the whole eastern coast of the American continent had been explored, but imperfectly by European navigators; though no part of the interior, north of Mexico and the countries in its

immediate vicinity, was known. The northernmost points occupied by the Spaniards were, — on the Atlantic side, Panuco, within a few miles of the Mexican Gulf, — and, on the Pacific side, Culiacan, which was founded by Nuño de Guzman, in 1530, at the entrance of the Gulf of California. Beyond Culiacan, towards the north and the west, the lands and the seas were entirely unexplored; and between that place and the civilized portion of Mexico, extended a wide space of uncultivated country, including Xalisco, which was called, by the Spaniards, New Galicia. The ports occupied by the Spaniards on the Pacific side of Mexico, were Tehuantepec, the most eastern, at which Cortés had his arsenals and ship-yards; Acapulco, the principal place of trade, and the nearest to the capital; and Zacatula, and Aguatlan, on the confines of Xalisco, beyond which the coasts were little known.

Before entering upon the history of the Spanish discoveries on the North Pacific side of America, it should be observed, that the accounts of these and other expeditions by sea, made at that period, which have descended to us, are very obscure and inexact, especially as regards geographical positions; so that it is generally difficult, and often impossible, to identify places by means of the descriptions given in them. This arises partly from the circumstance, that the accounts were nearly all written by priests, clerks, or other persons unacquainted with naval matters, who paid little attention to latitudes, longitudes, courses, and bearings, and were unable to record them properly; and partly from the imperfection of the instruments then employed to determine the altitudes and relative distances of the heavenly bodies, which, even on land, and under the most favorable conditions of the atmosphere, gave results far from accurate, and were entirely useless in a vessel on a rough sea, or in cloudy weather. This uncertainty as to the positions of places necessarily leads to confusion respecting their names; and we accordingly find, in the account of each of these voyages along the same portion of the coast, a nomenclature of capes, bays, and islands, almost entirely different from that contained in the narratives of all the other voyages.

The expedition of discovery, made, by order of Cortés, to the coasts north-west of Mexico, in 1532, was conducted by his kinsman, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who sailed from Tehuantepec in July of that year, with two vessels, one commanded by himself, the other by Juan de Mazuela. In the instructions drawn up by Cortés, of which a copy has been preserved, Mendoza was directed to sail within sight of the coast, and, at all convenient places, to land, and

communicate with the natives, whom he was to conciliate by every means in his power. Should he find a country which seemed to be rich, or inhabited by civilized persons, he was immediately to return, or to send back one of his vessels, with the news.* Hurtado de Mendoza accordingly proceeded slowly along the shore of the continent, as far north-west as the 27th degree of latitude, where, finding his crew mutinous, he sent back one of his vessels, with the greater part of his men, and continued the voyage, with a small crew, in the other. The vessel sent back reached Culiacan River in great distress, and was there deserted by nearly all her men. Her commander then endeavored, with the remainder of his crew, to carry her to Acapulco: but she was stranded at the mouth of the River of Vanderas, near the point now called Cape Corrientes, and all on board, with the exception of three, were put to death by the natives of the country, after which the vessel was seized and plundered by Nuño de Guzman. As to the vessel in which Mendoza continued his voyage, a vague account was received, that she had been thrown on the coast far north, and that all her crew had perished.

Cortés did not receive the news of the loss of the vessel which had been sent back by Hurtado de Mendoza until the middle of the following year; and he then immediately despatched two ships from Tehuantepec, in search of the other vessel, under the command, respectively, of Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra. These ships left the port together, on the 30th of September, 1533, but were soon after separated. Grijalva, going far out, discovered a group of islands situated about fifty leagues from the coast, named by him *Islands of St. Thomas*, (the same now called the *Revillagigedo Islands*,) where he remained until the following spring, and then returned to Acapulco, without having seen any new part of the continent. Becerra, with the other ship, took his course north-westward along the shore of Xalisco, near which his crew mutinied, and he was murdered by the pilot, Fortuño Ximenes. The mutineers, under the command of the pilot, then steered directly west from the main-land, and soon reached a coast not before known, on which they landed, after anchoring their ship in a small bay, near the 23d degree of latitude. There, more than twenty of their number, including Ximenes, were

* Herrera, Decade v. book vii. — Manuscript letters and memorials from Cortés to the emperor, in 1539 and 1540; and from Nuño de Guzman, in 1535 and 1540.

killed by the natives; the survivors succeeded in carrying the vessel over to the little harbor of Chiametla, in Xalisco, where she also was seized by Nuño de Guzman.

These attempts of Cortés to make discoveries in the north-west, had, in the mean time, excited Nuño de Guzman to efforts with the same object; and he had sent several parties of men in that direction, one of which appears to have traced the western shore of the continent as far as the mouth of the river now called the *Colorado*, and to have first brought accounts of rich and populous countries and splendid cities in the interior. Guzman had also received large accessions to his forces from Mexico, and was making many settlements, one of which soon prospered, and became, in time, the city of Guadalajara, the second in size in New Spain.

When Cortés became assured of the seizure of his vessels by Guzman, he addressed a complaint on the subject to the Audiencia; whose decision being, however, not so determinate in his favor as he wished, he assembled a large body of troops, and marched with them to Chiametla, where he also ordered three vessels to be sent from Tehuantepec. On the approach of these forces, Guzman advanced to meet them, but no action ensued; and Cortés, having been joined at Chiametla by his vessels, embarked in them, with a portion of his men, and set sail for the new country, found by Ximenes in the west, which was said to abound in the finest pearls. On the 3d of May, 1535, the day of the *Invention of the Holy Cross*, according to the Roman Catholic calendar, the squadron anchored in the bay, on the shore of which the murderers of Becerra had met their fate in the preceding year; and, in honor of the day, the name of *Santa Cruz* was bestowed on the place, of which possession was solemnly taken for the Spanish sovereign.

The country thus claimed by Cortés for Spain, was the south-east part of the great peninsula, which projects from the American continent on the Pacific side, in nearly the same direction, and between nearly the same parallels of latitude, as that of Florida on the Atlantic side. It soon after received the name of *California*, respecting the origin and meaning of which, many speculations—none of them satisfactory or even ingenious—have been offered. The bay called Santa Cruz by Cortés was probably the same now known as *Port La Paz*, about a hundred miles from the Pacific, near the 24th degree of latitude; though some accounts place it in the immediate vicinity of the southernmost point of the peninsula.

On the shore of this bay, surrounded by bare mountains of rock, arid and forbidding in appearance, though not more so than the sandy waste about Vera Cruz, Cortés landed with a hundred and thirty men and forty horses, and then sent back two of his vessels to Chiametla, to bring over the remainder of the forces; hoping to find, in the interior of the new country, another Mexico, in the conquest of which he might employ his powerful energies. The vessels soon reappeared, with a portion of the troops, and were again despatched to the Mexican coast, from which only one of them returned, the other having been wrecked on her way. Cortés thereupon embarked, with seventy men, for Xalisco, from which he came back, after encountering the greatest dangers, just in time to prevent the total destruction by famine of those left at Santa Cruz.

In these operations, more than a year was consumed, without obtaining any promise of advantage. The new country, so far as it had been explored, was utterly barren, and, except that a few pearls were found on the coast, destitute of all attraction for the Spaniards. The officers of the expedition were discontented: of the men, a number had died from want and disease; the others were mutinous, and cursed "Cortés, his island, his bay, and his discovery."*

Meanwhile his wife, becoming alarmed by the reports of the ill success of the expedition, which had reached Mexico, sent a vessel to Santa Cruz, with letters entreating his immediate return; and he, at the same time, learned that he had been superseded in the government of New Spain by Don Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank and character, who had already made his entrance into the capital as viceroy.

The removal of Cortés from the government of the country which had, by his means, been added to the dominions of Spain, was a heavy blow; particularly as he was, at that moment, much embarrassed from want of funds, his private property having been seriously injured by the expenses of his recent expeditions, from which no advantage had been obtained. He was, in consequence, obliged to return to Mexico, where he arrived in the beginning of 1537, and, soon after, to recall from Santa Cruz his lieutenant, Francisco de Ulloa, with the forces which had been left there; and, not being able, at the time, to employ his vessels, he sent two of them, under Grijalva, to Peru, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, in

* Bernal Dias, chap. 199.

aid of his friend Francisco Pizarro, who was then in great difficulties, from an extensive insurrection of the natives.*

Cortés, nevertheless, still claimed the right, in virtue of his capitulation with the sovereign, and as admiral of the South Sea, to make expeditions on that ocean for his own benefit; and he resolved to prosecute the discovery of California, by which he still expected to retrieve his fortunes, so soon as he could obtain the requisite funds. The advancement of this claim, however, brought him into collision with the new viceroy, who was an enlightened and determined man, and who had likewise become interested in the exploration of the regions north-west of Mexico, by the accounts of some persons recently arrived from that quarter; and a violent controversy ensued between the two chiefs, which lasted until the conqueror quitted Mexico.

The persons from whom the viceroy Mendoza received this information respecting the territories north-west of Mexico, were Alvaro Nuñez de Cabeza-Vaca, two other Spaniards, and a negro or Moor. They had landed, in 1527, near Tampa Bay, in the peninsula of Florida, among the adventurers who invaded that country under Panfilo Narvaez, in search of mines and plunder; and, after the destruction of their comrades by shipwreck, starvation, and the arrows of the Indians, they had wandered for nine years through forests and deserts, until they reached Culiacan, whence they were sent on to Mexico. Of their route, it is impossible to form any exact idea from the narrative published by Cabeza-Vaca: he had seen no signs of wealth or civilization in the regions which he had traversed; but he had, in many places, received from the natives accounts of rich and populous countries, inhabited by civilized people, situated farther north-west; and the viceroy, after hearing these accounts, thought proper to endeavor to ascertain the

* A long account of the adventures of Cortés, in his Californian expedition, may be found in Herrera, Decade viii. book viii. chap. ix. and x. The descriptions of the localities given by Herrera, and other historians, are, however, so vague, that it is impossible to trace the movements of the Spaniards with exactness; and the events related are unimportant, being merely details of disasters, such as might have occurred to ordinary men, engaged in ordinary enterprises. Those who take interest in every thing connected with Cortés,—and the number of such must doubtless be greatly increased, since the publication of Mr. Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico,—may obtain explanations, as to the events of this expedition, from the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, and from the first volume of Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific; but they should avoid the account given by Fleureau, in his Introduction to the Journal of Marchand's Voyage, which only renders confusion worse confounded.

truth of them. For this purpose he collected a band of fifty horsemen, who were to be commanded by Dorantes, one of the companions of Cabeza-Vaca; but, that plan being overthrown by some circumstance, he was induced, by the representations of his friend, the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, to depute two friars to make the exploration, with the view of preserving the inhabitants of the countries visited, from the violence to which military men would not fail to resort, if there should be occasion, for the gratification of their cupidity. The friars, Marcos de Niza, provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico, and Honorato, accompanied by the negro or Moor, Estavanico, who had crossed the continent with Cabeza-Vaca, accordingly set out from Culiacan, on the 7th of March, 1539, in search of the rich countries reported to lie in the north-west.

Soon after the departure of the friars, the last expedition made by order of Cortés was begun.* It was commanded by Francisco de Ulloa, who sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539, with three vessels, well manned and equipped, and took his course for California. One of the vessels was driven ashore in a storm near Culiacan: with the others Ulloa proceeded to the Bay of Santa Cruz, and thence in a few days departed to survey the coasts towards the north-east. In this occupation the ships were engaged until the 18th of October, when Ulloa returned to Santa Cruz, having in the mean time completely examined both shores of the great gulf which separates California from the main land on the east, and ascertained the fact of the junction of the two territories, near the 32d degree of latitude, though he failed to discover the *Colorado River*, which enters the gulf at its northern extremity. This gulf was named, by Ulloa, the *Sea of Cortés*; but it is generally distinguished, on Spanish maps, as the *Vermilion Sea*, (*Mar Vermejo*,) and, in those of other nations, as the *Gulf of California*.

On the 29th of October, Ulloa again sailed from Santa Cruz, in order to examine the coasts farther west, and having rounded the point now called *Cape San Lucas*, which forms the southern extremity of California, he pursued his voyage along the coast towards the north. In this direction the Spaniards proceeded slowly, often landing and fighting with the natives, and generally opposed by violent storms from the north-west, until the end of January, 1540, when they had reached an island near the coast, under the 28th parallel of latitude, which they named the *Isle of*

* See Narrative of Francisco Preciado, one of the officers of the *Santa Agueda*, in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 283, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 503.

Cedars. There they remained the greater part of the time, until the beginning of April, being prevented from advancing farther north by head winds; and then, as several of the crews of both vessels were disabled by sickness, and their provisions were insufficient to enable them to continue the voyage together much longer, Ulloa resolved to send one of his ships back to Mexico. The Santa Agueda, bearing the sick and the accounts of the discoveries, accordingly sailed from the Isle of Cedars on the 5th of April, and in the beginning of the following month she arrived at Santiago, in Xalisco, where she was seized by the officers of the viceroy, who was anxious to learn the particulars of her discoveries. Of the fate of Ulloa there are contradictory accounts. Herrera says that nothing was ever heard of him after his parting with the Santa Agueda; others of his contemporaries, however, state that he continued his voyage along the west coast of California, as far as a point called *Cape Engaño*, near the 30th degree of latitude, and thence returned safely to Mexico.

Whatsoever may have been the importance of the geographical results of this voyage, they were scarcely satisfactory to Cortés; and they attracted little attention among the Spaniards in Mexico, who were then all engaged in plans and speculations concerning the rich and delightful countries, of the discovery of which, by Friar Marcos de Niza and his companions, accounts had recently arrived. From these accounts, as contained in the letter addressed to the viceroy by Friar Marcos,* and from other evidence, it is probable that the reverend explorer did really penetrate to a considerable distance into the interior of the continent, and did find there countries partially cultivated, and inhabited by people possessing some acquaintance with the arts of civilized life; though, as to the precise situation of those regions, or the routes pursued in reaching them, no definite idea can be derived from the narrative. The friar pretended to have discovered, north-west of Mexico, beyond the 35th degree of latitude, extensive territories, richly cultivated, and abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones, the population of which was much greater, and farther advanced in civilization, than those of Mexico or Peru. In these countries were many towns, and seven cities, of which the friar only saw one, called *Cevola* or *Cibola*, containing twenty thousand large stone houses, some of four stories, and

* The letter of Friar Marcos, relating his discoveries, may be found in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 297, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 438. See, also, Herrera, Decade vi. p. 204.

adorned with jewels; yet he was assured, by the people, that this was the smallest of the cities, and far inferior, in extent and magnificence, to one called *Totonteac*, situated more towards the north-west. The inhabitants of Cibola had, at first, been hostile to the Spaniards, and had killed the negro; but they had, in the end, manifested a disposition to embrace Christianity, and to submit to the authority of the king of Spain, in whose name Friar Marcos had taken possession of the whole country, by secretly erecting crosses in many places.

These, and other things of a similar kind, gravely related by a respectable priest, who professed to have witnessed what he described, were universally admitted to be true; and the viceroy Mendoza, having communicated them to his sovereign, began to prepare for the reduction of the new countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to Christianity. Cortés, however, insisted on continuing his discoveries in the same direction, apparently giving little credit to the statements of Friar Marcos; while his old companion in arms, the redoubtable Pedro de Alvarado, claimed to undertake the conquest in virtue of a capitulation recently concluded between himself and the emperor. Hernando de Soto, likewise, who had just obtained a commission for the discovery of Florida, declared the seven cities to be within his jurisdiction; and Nuño de Guzman protested that his own right was the best, and with some reason, in consequence of his labors in the subjugation and settlement of New Galicia, of which he maintained that the rich countries formed part. After these disputes had lasted some months, a compromise was made between the viceroy and Alvarado, agreeably to which the latter was to command the expedition destined for the reduction of the rich territories in the north-west; and, about the same time, Cortés returned in disgust to Spain, where he passed the remaining seven years of his life in vain efforts to recover his authority in Mexico, or to obtain indemnification for his losses.

The viceroy Mendoza had, however, immediately on receiving the news of the discoveries from Friar Marcos, sent two bodies of armed forces, the one by land, the other by sea, to reconnoitre the rich countries, and prepare the way for their conquest.

The marine armament consisted of two ships, commanded by Fernando de Alarcon, who sailed from the port of Santiago on the 9th of May, 1540, and, proceeding along the coast towards the north-west, reached the extremity of the Gulf of California in August following. There he discovered a great river, which he

named *Rio de Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*,* (or River of our Lady of Safe Conduct,) probably the same now called the *Colorado*. This stream Alarcon ascended, to the distance of more than eighty leagues, with a party of his men, in boats, making inquiries on the way about the seven cities; in reply to which, he received from the Indians a number of confused stories—of kingdoms rich in precious metals and jewels—of rivers filled with crocodiles and other monsters—of droves of buffaloes—of enchanters—and other wonderful or remarkable objects. Of Totontec he could learn nothing; though, at the end of his voyage up the river, he obtained what he considered some definite information respecting Cibola, and was assured that he might reach that place by a march of ten days into the interior. He, however, suspected treachery on the part of those who gave the assurance; and, not conceiving it prudent to attempt to advance farther, he returned to his ships. In a second voyage up the river, he obtained no additional information; and, believing it needless to continue the search, he went back to Mexico, where he arrived before the end of the year.†

The land forces, despatched at the same time towards the northwest, were composed of cavalry and infantry, and were accompanied by priests, for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. They were commanded by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, a man of resolute and serious character, and by no means disposed to exaggerate, who had been appointed governor of New Galicia, in place of Nuño de Guzman. His letter to the viceroy,‡ containing accounts of the first period of the expedition, though wanting in precision, is yet sufficiently exact to afford a general idea of the direction in which he marched, and even of the position of some of the principal places which he visited.

* In honor of the viceroy, who bore on his arms an image of *Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*.

† Letter of Alarcon to the viceroy Mendoza, in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 303, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 505. See, also, Herrera, Decade vi. p. 208.

The Californian Gulf had thus been completely explored, as appears not only from the accounts of the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon, but also from a chart of the coasts of California, and the west coast of Mexico, drawn, in 1541, by Domingo del Castillo, Alarcon's pilot, of which an engraved *fac-simile* may be found in the edition of the Letters of Cortés, published at Mexico, in 1770, by Archbishop Lorenzana. The shores of the gulf, and of the west side of California, to the 30th degree of latitude, are there delineated with a surprising approach to accuracy. The pilot doubtless derived his information chiefly from the journals of Ulloa, which were sent back in the Santa Agueda, and were seized, by order of the viceroy, immediately on the arrival of that vessel in Mexico.

‡ Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 300. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 447.

Agreeably to this letter, the Spaniards left Culiacan on the 22d of April, 1540, and took their way towards the north, following, as well as they could, the course described by the friar : but, ere they had proceeded far, they had abundant evidences of the incorrectness of the accounts of that personage ; for the route which he had represented as easy and practicable, proved to be almost impassable. They, however, made their way over mountains and deserts, and through rivers, and, at length, in July, they reached the country of the seven cities, for which Cibola appeared to be the general name ; but, to their disappointment, it proved to be only a half-cultivated region, thinly inhabited by people not absolutely savage, though destitute of the wealth and refinement attributed to them by Friar Marcos. The seven great cities were seven small towns, some of them, indeed, containing large houses of stone, rudely built, and unornamented. Of fruits there were none, except such as grew wild ; and the immense quantities of precious metals and stones were merely "a few turquoises, and some gold and silver, supposed to be good. In fine," says Vazquez de Coronado, in his letter to the viceroy, "of the seven cities, and the kingdoms and provinces of which the reverend father provincial made a report to your excellency, he spoke the truth in nothing ; for we have found all to be quite the contrary, except only as to the houses of stone." The Spaniards, nevertheless, took possession of the country, in due form, for their sovereign ; and, being pleased with its soil and climate, they entreated their commander to allow them to remain and settle there. To this inglorious proposition Vazquez refused to consent ; and, having despatched his letter to Mendoza, from one of the cities of Cibola, named by him *Granada*, he took his departure, with his forces, for the north-west, in search of other new countries.

From the descriptions of the position, climate, productions, and animals, of Cibola, given by Vazquez de Coronado, there is some reason for believing it to be the region near the great dividing chain of mountains, east of the northernmost part of the Gulf of California, about the head-waters of the Rivers Yaqui and Gila, which fall into that arm of the Pacific. This part of America, now called *Sonora*, (a corruption of *Señora*,) though long since settled by the Spaniards, is little known to the inhabitants of other countries. It is described, by those who have recently visited it, as a most delightful, productive, and salubrious region, containing innumerable mines of silver and gold, among which are some of the richest in the world. There are, moreover, in that territory, many collections

of ruins of large stone buildings, which were found in their present state by the first Spanish settlers, and are called *casas grandes de los Azteques*, (great houses of the Aztecs,) from the supposition or tradition that they were built by that people before their invasion of Mexico.* Vazquez de Coronado, indeed, remarks that the inhabitants of Cibola, though not wanting in intelligence, did not appear to be capable of erecting the houses which he saw there.

Of the movements of the Spaniards, after they quitted Cibola, in August, 1540, the accounts are so vague and contradictory, that it is impossible to trace their route. It seems, however, that the greater part of the forces soon returned to Mexico; while the others, under their commander, wandered, for nearly two years longer, through the interior of the continent, in search of a country called *Quivira*, said, by the Indians, to be situated far in the north, and to be governed by "a king named Tatarrax, with a long beard, hoary-headed, and rich, who worshipped a cross of gold, and the image of the Queen of Heaven."† This country they found near the 40th degree of latitude: but the people had no other wealth than skins; and their king, though hoary-headed, possessed no jewels, "save one of copper, hanging about his neck." Quivira is described as a level territory, covered with herds of buffaloes, which form the whole support of the inhabitants; and, if its latitude has been correctly reported, it is most probably the region about the head-waters of the Arkansas and Platte Rivers; though Gomara places it near the sea, and says that the Spaniards saw ships on the coast, laden with East India goods. Vazquez had, probably, before leaving Quivira, learned the true value of Indian accounts of rich countries; and, not deeming it advisable to pursue the search for them any longer, he returned to Mexico in 1543.

During the absence of Vazquez de Coronado, the great armament, destined for the exploration and conquest of the north-western territories, under Pedro de Alvarado, was prepared; but, just as the expedition was about to be commenced, a rebellion broke out among the Indians of Xalisco, and all the forces at the viceroy's disposal were required to quell it. In the campaign which ensued, in the summer of 1541, Alvarado was killed by a kick from a horse; and Mendoza's expectations of advantage from the north-west regions were, in the mean time, so much lowered, that he resolved to reduce the scale of his expeditions for discovery in that quarter.

* Hardy's Travels in Mexico, from 1825 to 1828.

† Gomara, chap. 213

The disturbances being, at length, ended, in the spring of 1542, two vessels were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese of high reputation as a navigator, who was directed to examine the western side of California, as far northward as possible, seeking particularly for rich countries, and for passages leading towards the Atlantic; while Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, a relation of the viceroy, was sent, with the remainder of the disposable vessels and forces, across the Pacific, to endeavor to form establishments in India.

The two vessels under Cabrillo sailed together from Navidad, a small port in Xalisco, in June, 1542; and, having in a few days doubled Cape San Lucas, the survey of the west coast of California was begun from that point. It would be needless to endeavor to trace the progress of Cabrillo along this coast, or to enumerate the many capes and bays mentioned in the account of his voyage, nearly all of which places, so far as they can be identified, are now distinguished by names entirely different from those bestowed on them by him. By the middle of August, he had advanced beyond the limits of the supposed discoveries of Ulloa; and, in November, after having examined the coast as far north as the 38th degree of latitude, he was driven back, and forced to take refuge in a harbor named by him *Port Possession*, situated in the Island of *San Bernardo*, one of the *Santa Barbara* group, near the main land, under the 34th parallel. There Cabrillo, who had been for some time sick, sank under the fatigues of the voyage, on the 3d of January, 1543, leaving the command to the pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo.

The new commander, being no less zealous and determined than his predecessor, resolved, if possible, to accomplish the main objects of the expedition before returning to Mexico. He accordingly, soon after, sailed from Port Possession towards the north, and, on the 26th of February, reached a promontory situated under the 41st parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cabo de Fortunas*, (Cape of Perils, or Stormy Cape,) from the dangers encountered in its vicinity. On the 1st of March, the ships were in the latitude of 44 degrees, as determined by a solar observation; but, on the following day, they were again driven to the south; and, the men being, at this time, almost worn out, by long exposure to cold and fatigue, without sufficient food or clothing, Ferrelo determined to go back to Mexico. The ships, therefore, quitted the Isle of Cedars, discovered by Ulloa, in the beginning of April, and, on the 14th of that month, they arrived at Navidad.

From the accounts of this expedition which have been preserved, it is not easy to determine precisely how far north the American coast was discovered. The most northern point of land mentioned in those accounts is the Cape of Perils, which, though there placed under the 41st parallel, was probably the same soon after called *Cape Mendocino*, in the latitude of 40 degrees 20 minutes. Other authors, however, whose opinions are entitled to respect, pronounce the 43d parallel to be the northern limit of the discoveries made by the Spaniards in 1543.*

Whilst these expeditions to the north-western parts of America were in progress, Hernando de Soto, and his band of Spanish adventurers, were performing their celebrated march, in quest of mines and plunder, through the regions extending north of the Gulf of Mexico, which were then known by the general name of *Florida*. Without attempting here to trace the line of their wanderings, suffice it to say, that they traversed, in various directions, the vast territories now composing the Southern and South-Western States of the American Federal Union, and descended the Mississippi in boats, from the vicinity of the mouth of the Arkansas to the Mexican Gulf, on which they continued their voyage, along the coast, to Panuco. From the accounts of the few who survived the toils and perils of that memorable enterprise, taken together with those collected by Cabeza-Vaca and Vazquez de Coronado, concerning the territories which they had respectively visited, it was considered certain that *neither wealthy nations, nor navigable passages of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, were to be found north of Mexico, unless beyond the 40th parallel of latitude.*

The Spaniards, having arrived at these conclusions, for some time desisted from attempting to explore the north western section of the continent; and circumstances, meanwhile, occurred, which impressed their government with the belief that *the discovery of any passage facilitating the entrance of European vessels into the Pacific, would be deleterious to the power and interests of Spain in the New World.*

* Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 35. See, also, Burney's *History of Voyages in the Pacific*, vol. i. p. 220.

CHAPTER II.

1543 to 1606.

The Spaniards conquer the Philippine Islands, and establish a direct Trade across the Pacific, between Asia and America — Measures of the Spanish Government to prevent other European Nations from settling or trading in America — These Measures resisted by the English, the French, and the Dutch — Free Traders and Freebooters infest the West Indies — First Voyages of the English in the Pacific — Voyages of Drake and Cavendish — Endeavors of the English to discover a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific — False Reports of the Discovery of such Passages — Supposed Voyages of Urdañeta, Maldonado, and Fonté — Voyage of Juan de Fuca — Expeditions of Sebastian Vizcaino — Supposed Discovery of a great River in North-West America.

WHILST the Spaniards were thus extending their dominion in the New World, the Portuguese were daily acquiring advantages in India, with which they carried on a profitable trade, by means of their ships sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. The Spaniards, viewing this increase of the power of their rivals with jealousy and hatred, made many endeavors, likewise, to form establishments in Asia ; but all their expeditions for that purpose before the middle of the sixteenth century, terminated disastrously. The armaments sent from Spain to India under Loyasa, in 1525, and from Mexico, under Saavedra, in the ensuing year, were entirely ineffective. In 1542, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos crossed the Pacific with a large squadron from Mexico, and took possession of the Philippine Islands for his sovereign ; but his forces were soon after dispersed, and none of his vessels returned either to Europe or to America.

In 1564, the Spaniards made another attempt to gain a footing in the East Indies, which was successful. The Philippine Islands were in that year subjugated by Miguel de Legazpi, who had been despatched from Mexico with a small squadron for the purpose ; and a discovery was also made in the course of this expedition, without which the conquest would have been of no value. Before that period, no European had ever crossed the Pacific from Asia to America ; all who had endeavored to make such a voyage having confined themselves to the part of the ocean between the tropics

where the winds blow constantly from eastern points. Three of Legazpi's vessels, however, under the direction of Andres de Urdañeta, a friar, who had in early life accompanied Magellan in his expedition, and had subsequently acquired great reputation as a navigator, by taking a northward course from the Philippine Islands, entered a region of variable winds, near the 40th parallel of latitude, and were thus enabled to reach the coast of California, along which the prevailing north-westers carried them speedily to Mexico.

The Spaniards thus gained, what they had so long coveted, a position in the East Indies; and the practicability of communicating, by way of the Pacific, between Asia and America, was placed beyond a doubt. At the same time, also, Juan Fernandes discovered the mode of navigating between places on the west coast of South America, by standing out obliquely to a distance from the continent; and other improvements of a similar kind having been moreover introduced, the Spanish commerce on the Pacific soon became important. Large ships, called *galleons*, sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla, in the Philippine Islands, and to Macao, in China, laden with precious metals and European merchandise, in return for which they brought back silks, spices, and porcelain, for consumption in America, or for transportation over the Atlantic to Europe; while an extensive trade in articles equally valuable was carried on between Panamá and the various ports of Peru and Chili. These voyages on the Pacific were usually long, but comparatively safe, at least so far as regards exemption from injury by winds and waves, though the crews of the vessels often suffered dreadfully from scurvy occasioned by filth and want of good water and provisions; * and, as that ocean remained for some years undisturbed by the presence of enemies of Spain, little care or cost was bestowed upon the defence, either of the vessels or of the towns on the coasts.

The galleons, proceeding from Mexico to India, were wafted, by the invariable easterly or trade winds, directly across the ocean, in about three months; in the return voyage, they often occupied more than double that time, and they always made the west coast of California, the principal points on which thus became tolerably well known before the end of the sixteenth century. Accounts of

* For accounts of the miseries of a voyage from Manilla to Acapulco, in 1697, see Gemelli Carreri's narrative, in the fourth volume of Churchill's collection of *voyages*, which, if not true, is very like truth.

some of these voyages have been preserved, but they are of little value at present, from their want of precision. One of them is a letter from Francisco Gali, addressed to the viceroy of Mexico, describing his passage from Macao to Acapulco, in 1584, in the course of which he sailed along the west coast of America, from the latitude of thirty-seven and a half degrees southward to Mexico.* It has, however, been maintained, on the evidence of papers found in the archives of the Indies,† that Gali arrived on that coast in the latitude of *fifty-seven and a half degrees*, and is therefore to be considered as the discoverer of the whole shore between that parallel and the forty-third: but this assertion is supported by no evidence sufficient to overthrow the express statement of the navigator in his letter, the genuineness of which is not denied; and Gali, moreover, there declares that the land first seen by him was "very high and fair, and *wholly without snow*," which could not have been the case with regard to the north-west coast of America, under the parallel of *fifty-seven and a half degrees*, in the middle of October. In 1595, Sebastian Cermenon, in the ship *San Augustin*, on his way from Manilla to Acapulco, examined the same coasts, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, in search of some harbor in which the galleons might take refuge, and make repairs, or obtain water; but nothing has been preserved respecting his voyage, except that his ship was lost near the Bay of San Francisco, south of Cape Mendocino.

The Spanish government was, in the mean time, engaged in devising, and applying to its dominions in the New World, those measures of restriction and exclusion, which were pursued so rigidly, and with so little variation, during the whole period of its supremacy in the American continent. The great object of this system was simply to secure to the monarch and people of Spain the entire enjoyment of all the advantages which were supposed to be derivable from those dominions, consistently with the perpetual maintenance of absolute authority over them; and, for this object, it

* In Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 526, the letter from Gali to the viceroy is given at length, as "translated out of the original Spanish into Dutch, by John Huyghen Van Linschoten, and out of Dutch into English." In Linschoten, as in Hakluyt, thirty-seven and a half degrees is given as the northernmost part of the coast seen by Gali.

† See the note in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, at page 46, in which two letters from the viceroy of Mexico to the king of Spain, relative to the voyage of Gali, are mentioned; but the account there given differs in nothing, except as to the latitude, from that in the letter published by Linschoten and Hakluyt. Humboldt adopts the opinion of the author of the Introduction, without, however, adding any information or reasoning on the subject.

was deemed expedient not only to exclude the subjects of other European states from the territories claimed by Spain, — that is, from the whole of the New World except Brazil, — but also to prevent the rapid development of the resources of the Spanish provinces themselves.* In these views the Spaniards have not been singular; but no other power, in modern times, has employed measures so extreme in fulfilling them. Thus no Spaniard could emigrate to America, no new settlement could be formed there, and no new country or sea could be explored, without the express permission of the sovereign; and, when expeditions for discovery were made, the results were often concealed, or tardily and imperfectly promulgated. No article could be cultivated or manufactured for commerce in America, which could be imported from Spain; and no intercourse could be carried on between the different great divisions of those possessions, or between either of them and the mother country, except in vessels belonging to or specially licensed by the government, or otherwise under its immediate supervision. With the rest of the world, the Spanish Americans could have no correspondence; and all foreigners were prohibited, under pain of death, from touching the territories claimed by Spain, and even from navigating the seas in their vicinity. “Whoever,” says Hakluyt, at the end of the sixteenth century, “is conversant with the Portugal and Spanish writers, shall find that they account all other nations for pirates,

* The Spanish dominions in America, together with the Canary and the Philippine Islands, formed one empire, called the *Indies*, of which the king of Spain was, *ex officio*, the sovereign. The territories were divided into great sections, or kingdoms, each entirely independent of the others, except in certain prescribed contingencies, the general direction of the whole being committed to the *Supreme Council of the Indies*, a special ministry, residing in the palace of the king, in whose name all its orders were issued. The larger kingdoms of the Indies were under the immediate government of *viceroy*s, representing the authority and person of the sovereign; the others were governed by *captains-general*, or by *presidents*, whose powers were more limited. All these high officers were, however, kept in check by the courts called *Audiencias*, resembling the Supreme Council in their organization and attributes, one or two of which were established in each kingdom. The commerce of those countries was under the superintendence of a board, called the *House of Contracts of the Indies*, sitting at Seville, to and from which port all expeditions, from and to America, were, for a long time, obliged to pass.

The laws and regulations of the Supreme Council were, from time to time, revised; and those which were to remain in force were published in a collection entitled the *Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias*, (Compilation of Laws of the Indies,) containing the rules for the conduct of all the officers of the government. The provisions of this celebrated code are, in general, remarkable for their justice and humanity; the enforcement of them, being, however, left to those who had no direct interest in the prosperity and advancement of the country, was most shamefully neglected.

rovers, and thieves, which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or looked on."

Against these exclusive regulations the English and the French at first murmured and protested, and then began to act. The English government, having thrown off its allegiance to the head of the Roman Catholic church, denied the validity of the Spanish claims founded on the papal concessions, and required from Spain the recognition of the rights of Englishmen to navigate any part of the ocean, to settle in any country not occupied by another Christian nation, and to trade with the Spanish American provinces. These demands having been resisted, Queen Elizabeth * openly, as well as covertly, encouraged her subjects, even in time of peace, to violate regulations which she pronounced unjustifiable and inhuman; and the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indian seas were, in consequence, haunted by bands of daring English, who, under the equivocal denominations of *free traders* and *freebooters*, set at defiance the prohibitions of the Spaniards, as to commerce and territorial occupation, and plundered their ships, and the towns on their coasts. About the same time, the French Protestants began their attempts to plant colonies in Florida and Carolina, which were not defeated without considerable expenditure of Spanish blood and treasure; and the revolt in the Netherlands, which ended in the liberation of the Dutch provinces, soon after produced a formidable addition to the forces of these irregular enemies of Spain. The efforts of the English, and of their government, to establish commerce with the Spanish dominions in America, have, in fact, been the principal causes or motives of nearly all the wars between those nations since the middle of the sixteenth century. In these efforts the English have constantly persevered; and the Spanish government has resolutely opposed them, during peace, during war, and

* Queen Elizabeth's reply to the Spanish ambassador, who complained of the plunder of one of his sovereign's vessels by the English, in the West Indies, during peace between the two nations, is characteristic of her disposition, as well as reasonable. She said "that the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves, by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title, by donation of the bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit."

— Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, for 1580.

even during alliance between the two powers, until the last moment of the existence of the Spanish authority in the American continent.

Could Spain have so long retained the possession of her colonies in America, if she had adopted any other system with regard to them?

The Pacific was, for some years, preserved from the ravages of these daring adventurers, by the dread of the difficulties and dangers attending the passage of vessels into that ocean, from the Atlantic, through the Strait of Magellan; and the Spanish government began to regard as bulwarks of defence those natural obstacles to maritime intercourse between Europe and the western side of America, to remove or counteract which so many efforts had been previously made. Thenceforward, the expeditions of the Spaniards, in search of new channels connecting the two oceans, were undertaken only with the object of securing the passage, if it should be found, against the vessels of other nations; and the heaviest penalties were denounced against all persons who should attempt, or even propose, to form artificial communications by canals across the continent.* These circumstances, on the other hand, served to stimulate the enemies of Spain in their endeavors to discover easier routes to the Pacific; to effect which, the Dutch and the English navigators perseveringly labored, during the latter years of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

In the mean time, the reports of the extent and value of the Spanish commerce on the Pacific, and of the wealth accumulated in the towns on the American coasts of that ocean, overcame all the fears of the English, who at length spread their sails on its waters, and carried terror and desolation along its coasts.

* Alcedo, in his *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the West Indies*, under the head *Isthmus*, says, "In the time of Philip II., it was proposed to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panamá, for the passage of ships from one ocean to the other; and two Flemish engineers were sent to examine the place, with that object. They, however, found the obstacles insuperable; and the Council of the Indies at the same time represented to the king the injuries which such a canal would occasion to the monarchy; in consequence of which, his majesty decreed that no one should in future attempt, or even propose, such an undertaking, under pain of death."

The same author, speaking of the River *Atrato*, in New Granada, emptying into the Atlantic, — between which and the *San Juan*, falling into the Pacific, it was also proposed to make a canal, — says, "The Atrato is navigable for many leagues; but all persons are forbidden, under pain of death, from navigating it, in order to prevent the injuries which New Grenada would sustain, from the facility thus afforded for entering its territory."

The first irruption of the English into the Pacific was made in 1575, by a party of freebooters, under John Oxenham, who crossed the isthmus a little west of Panamá, and, having then built a vessel on the southern side, took many valuable prizes before any attempt could be made, by the Spaniards, to arrest their progress. They, however, in a few months, fell successively into the hands of their enemies, and were nearly all executed with ignominy at Panamá. Their fall was, three years afterwards, signally avenged by another body of their countrymen, under the command of the greatest naval captain of the age. It is scarcely necessary to say that this captain could be no other than Francis Drake, of whose celebrated voyage around the world—the first ever performed by one crew in one vessel—an account will be here given, as he, in the course of it, visited the north-west side of America, and is supposed, though erroneously, as will be proved, to have made important discoveries in that quarter.

Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, with five small vessels, which had been procured and armed by himself and other private individuals in England, ostensibly for a voyage to Egypt, but really for a predatory cruise against the dominions and subjects of Spain. The governments of England and Spain were then, indeed, at peace with each other: but mutual hatred, arising from causes already explained, prevailed between the two nations; and the principles of general law or morals were not, at that period, so refined as to prevent Queen Elizabeth from favoring Drake's enterprise, with the real objects of which she was well acquainted.

For some months after leaving England, Drake roved about the Atlantic, without making any prize of value: he then refitted his vessels at Port San Julian, on the eastern coast of Patagonia; and he succeeded in conducting three of them safely through the dreaded Strait of Magellan, into the Pacific, which he entered in September, 1578. Scarcely, however, was this accomplished, ere the little squadron was dispersed by a storm; and the chief of the expedition was left with only a schooner of a hundred tons' burden, and about sixty men, to prosecute his enterprise against the power and wealth of the Spaniards on the western side of America.

Notwithstanding these disheartening occurrences, Drake did not hesitate to proceed to the parts of the coast occupied by the Spaniards, whom he found unprepared to resist him, either on land or on sea. He accordingly plundered their towns and ships with little

difficulty ; and so deep and lasting was the impression produced by his achievements, that, for more than a century afterwards, his name was never mentioned in those countries without exciting feelings of horror and detestation.

At length, in the spring of 1579, Drake, having completed his visitation of the Spanish American coasts, by the plunder of the town of Guatulco, on the south side of Mexico, and filled his vessel with precious spoils, became anxious to return to England ; but, having reason to expect that the Spaniards would intercept him, if he should attempt to repass Magellan's Strait, he resolved to seek a northern route to the Atlantic. Accordingly, on quitting Guatulco, he steered west and north-west, and, having sailed in those directions about 1400 leagues, he had, in the beginning of June, advanced beyond the 42d degree of north latitude, where his men, being thus "speedily come out of the extreme heat, found the air so cold, that, being pinched with the same, they complained of the extremity thereof." He had, in fact, reached the part of the Pacific, near the American coasts, where the winds blow constantly and violently, during the summer, from the north and north-west, accompanied, generally, by thick fogs, which obscure the heavens for many days, and even weeks, in succession ; and, finding these difficulties increase, as he went farther, "he thought it best, for that time, to seek the land." He accordingly soon made the American coast, and endeavored to approach it, so as to anchor ; but, finding no proper harbor there, he sailed along the shore southward, until the 17th of the month, when "it pleased God to send him into a fair and good bay, within 38 degrees towards the line."*

In this bay the English remained five weeks, employed in refitting their vessel, and obtaining such supplies for their voyage as the country offered. The natives, "having their houses close by the water's side," at first exhibited signs of hostility : but they were soon conciliated by the kind and forbearing conduct of the strangers ; and their respect for Drake increased, so that, when they saw him about to depart, they earnestly prayed him to continue among them as their king. The naval hero, though not disposed to undertake, in person, the duties of sovereignty over a

* These quotations are from the *Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*, by Francis Pretty, one of the crew of Drake's vessel, written at the request of Hakluyt, and published by him in 1589. It is a plain and succinct account of what the writer saw, or believed to have occurred, during the voyage, and bears all the marks of truth and authenticity.

tribe of naked or skin-clad savages, nevertheless "thought not meet to reject the crown, because he knew not what honor or profit it might bring to his own country; whereupon, in the name, and to the use, of her majesty, Queen Elizabeth, he took the crown, sceptre, and dignity, of the country into his own hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might be so conveniently transported, for the enriching her kingdom at home." The coronation accordingly took place, with most ludicrous solemnities, and Drake bestowed on his dominions the name of *New Albion*.

The vessel having been refitted, Drake erected on the shore a pillar, bearing an inscription, commemorating the fact of this cession of sovereignty; and, on the 22d of July, he took leave of his worthy subjects, to their great regret. Having, however, by this time, abandoned all idea of seeking a northern passage to the Atlantic, he sailed directly across the Pacific, and thence, through the Indian Seas, and around the Cape of Good Hope, to England, where he arrived on the 26th of September, 1580.

With regard to the harbor on the North Pacific side of America, in which Drake repaired his vessel, nothing can be learned from the accounts of his expedition which have been published, except that it was situated about the 38th degree of latitude, and that a cluster of small islets lay in the ocean, at a short distance from its mouth; which description will apply equally to the *Bay of San Francisco*, and to the *Bay of Bodega*, a few leagues farther north.

As to the extent of the portion of the north-west coast of America seen by Drake, the accounts differ. Before examining them, it should be first observed, that, from the great navigator himself, nothing whatsoever has descended to us, either as written by him, or as reported by others on his authority, respecting his voyage in the North Pacific; on the circumstances of which, all the information is derived from two narratives, — the one proceeding entirely from a person who had accompanied Drake in his expedition, and published in 1589, during the life of the hero, — the other compiled from various accounts, and not given to the world until the middle of the following century.

In the first-mentioned of those narratives, called the *Famous Voyage* from which the preceding quotations are made, the vessel is represented as being in the *forty-third* degree of latitude on the *fifth* of June, when it was determined to seek the land; but on what day, or in what latitude, the coast was discovered, is not stated.

In the other narrative, called the *World Encompassed*,* it is declared that the vessel was in latitude of 42 degrees on the *third* of June, and that, on the *fifth* of the same month, she anchored near the land of America, in a "bad bay," in latitude of *forty-eight* degrees, from which being soon driven by the violence of the winds, she ran along the coast, southward, to the harbor where she was refitted.

Thus the two accounts differ as to the vessels' position on the *fifth* of June, on which day it is rendered probable, from both, that the land was first seen. Hakluyt, who took great interest in all that related to the west coast of North America, as well as to Drake, gives the 43d parallel, in many places in his works, as the northern limit of his countrymen's discoveries; and the same opinion is maintained by Camden, Purchas, De Laet, Ogilby, Heylin, Locke, Dr. Johnson, and every other author who wrote on the subject before the middle of the last century — except the two following: The celebrated navigator John Davis, in his *World's Hydrographical Discovery*, published in 1595, asserts that, "after Sir Francis Drake was entered into the South Sea, he coasted all the western shores of America, until he came to the septentrional latitude of 48 degrees;" this assertion, however, carries with it its own refutation, as it is nowhere else pretended that Drake saw any part of the west coast of America between the 17th degree of latitude and the 38th. Sir William Monson, another great naval authority of that age, declares, in his *Tracts*, first printed in 1712, that, "from the 16th of April to the 15th of June, Drake sailed without seeing land, and arrived in 48 degrees, thinking to find a passage into our seas;" but, unfortunately for Sir William's consistency, he maintains, in many other parts of his *Tracts*, that "Cape Mendocino [near the 40th parallel] is the farthest land discovered," and "the farthestmost known land." In the *Life of Sir Francis Drake*, published in 1750, in the *Biographia Britannica*, the opinion that he

* "The *World Encompassed*, by Sir Francis Drake, collected out of the Notes of Mr. Francis Fletcher, Preacher, in this Employment, and compared with divers others' Notes that went in the same Voyage." According to Barrow, it was prepared by a nephew of the navigator, shortly after his death; it was, however, not published until 1652. It may be found at length in Osborne's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 434. It is a long and diffuse account, filled with dull and generally absurd speculations, and containing, moreover, a number of statements which are positive and evidently wilful falsehoods; yet it contains scarcely a single fact not related in the *Famous Voyage*, from which many sentences and paragraphs are taken *verbatim*, while others convey the same meaning in different terms. The journal, or supposed journal, of Fletcher remains in manuscript in the British Museum; and from it were derived the false statements above mentioned, according to Barrow, who consulted it.

discovered the American coast to the 48th degree was again brought forward, and it has been since admitted generally by British writers. Burney, who has examined the question at length in his *History of Voyages in the South Sea*, published in 1803, pronounces that "the part of the coast discovered by Drake is to be reckoned as beginning immediately to the north of Cape Mendocino, and extending to 48 degrees of north latitude," — on the authority of the *World Encompassed*, especially of the assertion in that narrative that "the English searched the coast diligently even unto the 48th degree, yet they found not the land to trend so much as one point, in any place, towards the east." Burney, however, with his usual want of candor, omits to quote the remainder of the sentence, — "but rather running on continually north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia," — well knowing that it destroyed the value of the evidence in the first part; for the west coast of America nowhere, between the 40th and the 48th degrees of latitude, runs north-west, its course being nearly due north. Lastly, Barrow, in his *Life and Times of Sir Francis Drake*, which appeared in 1843, presents his hero as the discoverer of the west coast of America from the 38th to the 48th parallels, without giving the slightest intimation that any doubt on the subject had ever existed or could exist.

To conclude: the *World Encompassed* is the only direct authority for the belief that Drake, in 1579, discovered the west coast of America as far north as the 48th degree of latitude. In examining the particulars of that account, we find that, between the 1st and the 5th of June, *in two days*, the English vessel sailed through six degrees of latitude, northward, with the wind blowing constantly and violently from that very quarter — a rate of sailing which could scarcely be attained at the present time under similar circumstances. We moreover learn, that, during the whole period in which the latitudes are given thus positively, the heavens were obscured by thick fogs, and the vessel constantly agitated by storms, in either of which cases alone, no observations worthy of reliance could have been made with the instruments then in use. When we also take into consideration the direct falsehoods, in the same narrative, respecting the cold in that part of the Pacific, which is represented as so intense, during the months of June and July, that meat was frozen so soon as taken from the fire, and ropes and sails were stiffened by ice, we may safely conclude that further evidence is requisite to establish the certainty that Drake, in 1579, saw any part of the west coast of North America which had not been seen by the Spaniards in 1543.

The success of Drake's enterprise encouraged other English adventurers to attempt similar expeditions through the Straits of Magellan; and it stimulated the navigators of his nation in their efforts to discover northern passages into the Pacific Ocean. Of their predatory excursions, none were attended with success, except that of the famous Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, who rendered his name almost as terrible to the Spaniards as that of Drake, by his ravages on the west coasts of America, during his voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, in 1587. In this voyage, Cavendish lay, for some time, near Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of California, and there captured the Manilla galleon *Santa Anna*, on her way, with a rich cargo of East India goods, to Acapulco, which he set on fire, after plundering her, and landing her crew on the coast. The unfortunate Spaniards, thus abandoned in a desert country, must soon have perished, had they not succeeded in repairing their vessel, which was driven ashore near them, after the extinction of the flames by a storm, and sailing in her to a port on the opposite coast of Mexico. Among these persons were Juan de Fuca and Sebastian Vizcaino, of each of whom much will be said in this chapter.

About this time, the search for northern passages of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans was begun by the English;* and it was prosecuted at intervals, by the navigators of that nation and of Holland, during nearly sixty years, after which it was abandoned, or rather suspended. In the course of the voyages undertaken for this object, eastward as well as westward from the Atlantic, many important geographical discoveries and improvements in the art and science of navigation were effected; and the persons thus engaged acquired an honorable and lasting reputation, by their skill, perseverance against difficulties, and contempt of dangers. The Spanish government was, at the same period, according to the direct testimony derived from its official acts, and the accounts of its historians, kept in a state of constant alarm, by these efforts of its most determined foes to penetrate into an ocean of which it claimed the exclusive possession; and the uneasiness thus occasioned was, from time to time, increased, by rumors of the accomplishment of the dreaded discovery.

These rumors were, for the most part, in confirmation of the

* The first voyage made from England, with the express object of seeking a north west passage to the Pacific, was that of Martin Frobisher, in 1576.

existence of the passage called the *Strait of Anian*, joining the Atlantic, under the 60th parallel of north latitude, through which Cortereal was said to have sailed, in 1500, into a great western sea ; and those who pretended to have made northern voyages from either ocean to the other, generally asserted that they had passed through the Strait of Anian. The accounts of all such voyages yet made public are now known to be as false, with regard to the principal circumstances related, as those of the discovery of the philosopher's stone and the elixir vitæ, current at the same period in Europe ; and the former, like the latter, had their origin, generally, in the knavery or the vanity of their authors, though some of them were evidently mere fictions, invented for the purpose of exercising ingenuity, or of testing the credulity of the public. But, as the conviction of the possibility of transmuting all other metals into gold, and of prolonging life indefinitely, led to the knowledge of many of the most important facts in chemistry, so did the belief in the existence of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific serve to accelerate the progress of geographical discovery and scientific navigation.

Among those who were earliest believed to have accomplished northern voyages from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*, was the celebrated Friar Andres de Urdañeta, the discoverer of the mode of navigating the Pacific from east to west. "One Salvatierra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland, in 1568,"* there assured Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Henry Sydney, that Urdañeta had, more than eight years previous, told him, in Mexico, "that he came from *Mar del Sur* [the Pacific] into Germany through the northern passage, and showed Salvatierra a sea-card, [chart,] made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described the north-west passage." This was, however, most probably, a falsehood or amplification on the part of Salvatierra, to induce Sir Humphrey to employ him on a voyage which he then projected, as nothing appears in the history or character of Urdañeta to justify the belief that he would have made such a declaration. In the archives of the Council of the Indies,† which have been examined

* "A Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathaia [China] and the East Indies, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert," first published in 1576, and republished by Hakluyt, in his "Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries, of the English Nation." See the reprint of Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 32.

† Introduction to the *Journal of Galiano and Valdes*, p. 36.

with reference to this matter, are many original papers by Urdañeta, in which he mentions a report, that some Frenchmen had sailed from the Atlantic, beyond the 70th degree of north latitude, through a passage opening into the Pacific, near the 50th degree, and thence to China; and he recommends that measures should be taken, without delay, to ascertain the truth of the report, and, if the passage should be found, to establish fortifications at its mouth, in order to prevent other nations from using it to the injury of Spain.

In 1574, an old pilot, named Juan Ladrillero, living at Colima, in Mexico, pretended that he had, in his youth, sailed through a passage, from the Atlantic, near Newfoundland, into the Pacific; and other assertions, to the same effect, were made by various other individuals, either from a desire to attract notice, or with the view of obtaining emolument or employment.

The most celebrated fiction of this class is the one of which Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado is the hero. This person, a Portuguese by birth, who had written some extravagant works on geography and navigation, and pretended to have discovered a magnetic needle without variation, presented to the Council of the Indies, in 1609, a memoir or narrative of a voyage from Lisbon to the Pacific, through seas and channels north of America, which he declared that he himself had accomplished in 1588, accompanied by a petition that he should be rewarded for his services, and be intrusted with the command of forces, to occupy the passage, and defend its entrance against other nations. This proposition was instantly rejected by the Council: but some of the papers relating to it were retained; and two manuscripts are now preserved, the one in the library of the duke of Infantado, at Madrid, the other in the Ambrosian library, at Milan, each purporting to be the original memoir presented by Maldonado.

These papers are each entitled "A Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the Year 1588; in which is described the Course of the Navigation, the Situation of the Place, and the Manner of fortifying it;" and their contents are nearly the same, except that the Milan paper is, in some places, more concise than the other, from which it seems to have been, in a manner, abridged. Upon the whole, there is reason to believe the Madrid document to be a true copy of the memoir presented by Maldonado; though it has been pronounced, by one who has examined the subject with much care, to be a

fabrication of a later date.* Whether the fabrication, as it undoubtedly is, proceeded from Maldonado, or from some other person, is of no importance at the present day. A few extracts will serve to show its general character, and to bring to view the opinions entertained in Europe, during the seventeenth century, with regard to the northern parts of America.

After stating the advantages which Spain might derive from a northern passage between the two oceans, and the injury which she might sustain, were it left open to other nations, Maldonado proceeds thus to describe the voyage:—

“Departing from Spain,—suppose from Lisbon,—the course is north-west, for the distance of 450 leagues, when the ship will have reached the latitude of 60 degrees, where the Island of Friesland† will be seen, commonly called *Fîle*, or *Fule*: it is an island somewhat smaller than Ireland. Thence the course is westward, on the parallel of 60 degrees, for 180 leagues, which will bring the navigator to the land of Labrador, where the strait of that name, or Davis’s Strait, begins, the entrance of which is very wide, being somewhat more than 30 leagues: the land on the coast of Labrador, which is to the west, is very low; but the opposite side of the mouth of the strait consists of very high mountains. Here two openings appear, between which are these high mountains. One of the passages runs east-north-east, and the other north-west; the one running east-north-east, which is on the right hand, and looks towards the north, must be left, as it leads to Greenland, and thence to the Sea of Friesland. Taking the other passage, and steering north-west 80 leagues, the ship will arrive in the latitude

* See a review, supposed to be written by Barrow, of the manuscript found at Milan by Carlo Amoretti, in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816. A translation of the most material parts of that paper may be found in Burney’s History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. 5, p. 167. A translation of the whole of the Madrid document, with copies of the maps and plans annexed to it, is given by Barrow, at the conclusion of his Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions. See, also, the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 49. The reviewer above mentioned “suspects this pretended voyage of Maldonado to be the clumsy and audacious forgery of some ignorant German, from the circumstance of 15 leagues to the degree being used in some of the computations;” but the courses are not laid down with so much exactness in the account, as to warrant the assertion that 15 leagues are employed, instead of $17\frac{1}{2}$, which would have been the true subdivision of the degree of latitude in Spanish leagues.

† An island of this name was long supposed to exist near the position here assigned to it, on the faith of an apocryphal account of some voyages which were said to have been made in the North Atlantic about the year 1400, by the brothers Antonio and Nicolo Zeno, of Venice. Friesland has been, by some, considered as identical with the Feroe Ialands.

of 64 degrees. There, the strait takes another turn to the north, continuing one hundred and twenty leagues, as far as the latitude of 70 degrees, when it again turns to the north-west, and runs in that direction ninety leagues, to the 75th degree of latitude, near which the whole of the Strait of Labrador will have been passed; that is to say, the strait begins at 60 degrees, and ends at 75 degrees, being two hundred and ninety leagues in length, and having three turns, the first and last of which run north-west and south-east, and the middle one north and south, being sometimes narrower than twenty leagues, and sometimes wider than forty, and containing many bays and sheltering places, which might be of service in cases of necessity. * * * * *

“Having cleared the Strait of Labrador, we began to descend from that latitude, steering west-south-west, and south-west, three hundred and fifty leagues, to the 71st degree of latitude, when we perceived a high coast, without being able to discover whether it was part of the continent, or an island; but we remarked that, if it were the continent, it must be opposite the coast of New Spain. From this land we directed our course west-south-west four hundred and forty leagues, until we came to the 60th degree, in which parallel we discovered the Strait of Anian. * * * *

“The strait which we discovered in 60 degrees, at the distance of one thousand seven hundred and ten leagues from Spain, appears, according to ancient tradition, to be that named by geographers, in their maps, the *Strait of Anian*; and, if it be so, it must be a strait having Asia on the one side, and America on the other, which seems to be the case, according to the following narration:—

“As soon as we had cleared the strait, we coasted along the shores of America for more than one hundred leagues south-westward, to the 55th degree of latitude, on which coast there were no inhabitants, nor any opening, indicating the vicinity of another strait, through which the South Sea, flowing into the North, might insulate that part; and we concluded that all that coast belonged to America, and that, continuing along it, we might soon reach Quivira and Cape Mendocino. We then left this coast, and, sailing towards the west four days, with the wind a-beam, so that we made thirty leagues a day, we discovered a very high land, and continued along the coast, from which we kept at a safe distance, always in the open sea, sailing, at one time, to the north-east, at others towards north-north-east, and again to the north, whence it seemed to us that the coast ran north-east and south-west. We were unable

to mark any particular points, on account of our distance from the land; and we can, therefore, only affirm that it is inhabited, nearly to the entrance of the strait, as we saw smoke rising up in many places. This country, according to the charts, must belong to Tartary, or Cathaia, [China;] and at the distance of a few leagues from the coast must be the famed city of Cambalu, the metropolis of Tartary. Finally, having followed the direction of this coast, we found ourselves at the entrance of the same strait of Anian, which, fifteen days before, we had passed through to the open sea; this we knew to be the South Sea, where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, India, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quiros, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru. * *

“The Strait of Anian is fifteen leagues in length, and can easily be passed with a tide lasting six hours; for those tides are very rapid. There are, in this length, six turns, and two entrances, which lie north and south; that is, bear from each other north and south. The entrance on the north side (through which we passed) is less than half a quarter of a league in width, and on each side are ridges of high rocks; but the rock on the side of Asia is higher and steeper than the other, and hangs over, so that nothing falling from the top can reach its base. The entrance into the South Sea, near the harbor, is more than a quarter of a league in width, and thence the passage runs in an oblique direction, increasing the distance between the two coasts. In the middle of the strait, at the termination of the third turn, is a great rock, and an islet, formed by a rugged rock, three *estadías* [about one thousand one hundred feet] in height, more or less; its form is round, and its diameter may be two hundred paces; its distance from the land of Asia is very little; but the sea, on that side, is full of shoals and reefs, and can only be navigated by boats. The distance between this islet and the continent of America is less than a quarter of a league in width; and, although its channel is so deep that two or even three ships might sail abreast through it, two bastions might be built on the banks with little trouble, which would contract the channel to within the reach of a musket shot.

“In the harbor in which our ship anchored, at the entrance of the strait, on the south side, we lay from the beginning of April to the middle of June, when a large vessel, of eight hundred tons’ burden, came there from the South Sea, in order to pass the strait. Upon this, we put ourselves on our guard; but, having come to an understanding with her, I found them willing to give us some

of their merchandise, the greater part of which consisted of articles similar to those manufactured in China, such as brocades, silks, porcelain, feathers, precious stones, pearls, and gold. These people seemed to be Hanseatics, who inhabit the Bay of St. Nicholas, or the port of St. Michael, [Archangel, on the White Sea.] In order to understand one another, we were forced to speak Latin, those of our party who understood that language talking with those on board the ship who were also acquainted with it. They did not seem to be Catholics, but Lutherans. They said they came from a large city, more than one hundred leagues from the strait; and, though I cannot exactly remember its name, I think they called it *Rohr*, or some such name, which they said had a good harbor, and a navigable river, and was subject to the great khan, as it belonged to Tartary, and that, in that port, they left another ship belonging to their country. We could learn no more from them, as they acted with great caution, and little confidence, being afraid of our company; wherefore we parted from them, near the strait, in the North Sea, and set sail towards Spain."

The preceding extracts, from a translation of the manuscript at Madrid, will suffice to show the course which the Portuguese pretended to have taken, in 1588. The remainder of the paper is devoted to descriptions of the supposed strait, and plans for its occupation and defence by Spain; nothing being said as to the circumstances which induced the navigators to return to Europe by the same route, instead of pursuing their course to some Spanish port on the Pacific. It is needless to use any arguments to prove that no such voyage could have been ever made; as we know that the only connection by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, is through the Arctic Sea and Bering's Strait, which latter passage is more than sixteen leagues in width, and is situated near the 65th degree of latitude. It has, however, been suggested, and it is not improbable, that, before the period when Maldonado presented his memoir to the Council of the Indies, some voyage, of which we have no account, may have been made in the North Pacific,* as far as the entrance of the gulf called *Cook's Inlet*, and that this entrance, situated under the 60th parallel of latitude, may have been supposed, by the navigator, to be the western termination of the long-sought Strait of Anian.

The story certainly attracted considerable attention at the time

* Article on the north-west passage, in the Quarterly, for October, 1816, above mentioned.

when it was put forth, and allusions are made to it by several Spanish authors of the seventeenth century; it had, however, been entirely forgotten when the French geographer M. Buache, having obtained a copy of the Madrid manuscript, endeavored to establish the truth of the most material points, in a paper read by him before the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, on the 13th of November, 1790. At his request, the archives of the Indies were examined, in search of documents relating to the supposed voyage; and the commanders of Spanish ships, then employed in the surveying the north-west coasts of America, were instructed to endeavor to find the entrance of the Strait of Anian, near the 60th degree of latitude. These endeavors proved vain, and the name of Maldonado had again sunk into oblivion, when it was again, in 1812, brought before the world by Signor Amoretti, of Milan, who found, in the Ambrosian library, in that city, the manuscript already mentioned, and published a French translation of it, with arguments in support of the truth of its contents. So far as is known, the falsehoods of Maldonado have injured no one, and they were ultimately productive of great good; for it was while engaged, by order of the Spanish government, in examining the archives of the Indies respecting this pretended voyage, that Navarrete found those precious documents, relating to the expeditions of Columbus and other navigators of his day, which have thrown so much light on the history of the discovery of the New World.

Similar good effects have been produced by the story of the voyage of Admiral Pedro Bartolomé de Fonté, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, through lakes and rivers extending across North America, which may also be here mentioned, though it belongs properly to a later period of the history; as the voyage was said to have been performed in 1640, and the account first appeared in a periodical work entitled—*Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs of the Curious*—published at London, in 1708. This account is very confused, and badly written, and is filled with absurdities and contradictions, which should have prevented it from receiving credit at any time since its appearance: yet, as will be shown, it was seriously examined and defended, so recently as in the middle of the last century, by eminent scientific men; and some faith continued to be attached to it for many years afterwards. So far as its details can be understood, they are to the following effect:—

Admiral Fonté sailed from Callao, near Lima, in April, 1640, with four vessels, under orders, from the viceroy of Peru, to repair

to the North Pacific, for the purpose of exploring its American coasts, and of intercepting certain vessels which were reported to have been equipped at Boston, in New England, in search of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. From Callao he proceeded to Cape San Lucas, where he detached a vessel to explore the Californian Gulf; thence, continuing his voyage along the west coast, he passed about two hundred and sixty leagues, in crooked channels, among a collection of islands called by him the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*; and beyond them he found, under the 53d degree of latitude, the mouth of a great river, which he named *Rio de los Reyes* — *River of Kings*. Having despatched his lieutenant, Bernardo, with one vessel, to trace the coast on the Pacific farther north, he entered the great river, and ascended it north-eastward, to a large lake, called, from the beauty of its shores, *Lake Belle*, containing many islands, and surrounded by a fine country, the inhabitants of which were kind and hospitable. On the south shore of the lake was the large town of *Conasset*, where the admiral left his vessels; thence he proceeded, (in what manner he does not say,) with some of his men, down a river called the *Parmentier*, flowing from Lake Belle eastward into another lake, to which he gave his own name, and thence, through a passage called the *Strait of Ronquillo*, in honor of one of his captains, to the sea.

On entering the sea, the admiral learned, from some Indians, "that, a little way off, lay a great ship, where there had never been one before;" and, on boarding her, he found only an old man and a youth, who told him that they came from the town called *Boston*, in New England. On the following day, the captain, named Nicholas Shapley, arrived, with the owner of the ship, Seymour Gibbons, "a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called *Maltechusetts*," between whom and the admiral a struggle of courtesy was begun. The Spanish commander had been ordered to make prize of any people seeking for a north-west or a west passage; but he would look on the Bostonians as merchants, trading for skins; so he made magnificent presents to them all, and, having received, in return, their charts and journals, he went back to his ships, in Lake Belle, and thence, down the Rio de los Reyes, to the sea.

In the mean time, the lieutenant, Bernardo, had ascended another river, called, by him, *Rio de Haro*, into a lake named *Lake Velasco*, situated under the 61st degree of latitude, from which he went, in

canoes, as far as the 79th degree, where the land was seen, "still trending north, and the ice rested on the land." He was also assured "that there was no communication out of the Atlantic Sea by Davis's Strait; for the natives had conducted one of his seamen to the head of Davis's Strait, which terminated in a fresh lake, of about thirty miles in circumference, in the 80th degree of north latitude; and there were prodigious mountains north of it." These accounts, added to his own observations, led Admiral Fonté to conclude "*that there was no passage into the South Sea by what they call the north-west passage;*" and he accordingly returned, with his vessels, through the Pacific, to Peru.

Such are the principal circumstances related in the account of Admiral Fonté's voyage, which was, for some time after its appearance, received as true, and copied into all works on Northern America. In 1750, a French translation of the account, with a chart drawn from it, and a memoir, in support of its correctness, were presented to the Academy of Sciences of Paris by Messrs. Delisle and Buache, in consequence of which, the various Spanish repositories of papers respecting America were carefully examined, in search of information on the subject; and, in all the voyages of discovery along the north-west coasts of the continent, during the last century, endeavors were made to discover the mouth of the *Rio de los Reyes*. These labors, however, were vain. The existence of a number of islands near the position assigned to the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, and of a large river, (the *Stikine*,) entering the ocean near the 56th parallel, indeed, seems to favor the supposition that some voyage, of which we have no record, may have been made to that part of the Pacific before 1708; but the rivers and lakes through which Fonté was said to have passed—his town of Conasset—and his Boston ship—are now generally believed to have all emanated from the brain of James Petiver, a naturalist of some eminence, and one of the chief contributors to the *Monthly Miscellany*.

The account of the voyage and discoveries of Juan de Fuca, on the north-western side of America, in 1592, was, for a long time, considered as less worthy of credit than those above noticed. More recent examinations in that part of the world have, however, caused it to be removed from the class of fictions; although it is certainly erroneous as regards the principal circumstance related. All the information respecting this voyage is derived from "*A Note made by Michael Lock, the elder, touching the Strait of Sea commonly called*

Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the North-west Passage of Meta Incognita" — published in 1625, in the celebrated historical and geographical collection called *The Pilgrims*, by Samuel Purchas.*

Mr. Lock there relates that he met, at Venice, in April, 1596, "an old man, about sixty years of age, called, commonly, *Juan de Fuca*, but named, properly, *Apostolos Valerianos*, of nation a Greek, born in Cephalaria, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships," who, "in long talks and conferences," declared that he had been in the naval service of Spain, in the West Indies, forty years, and that he was one of the crew of the galleon *Santa Anna*, when she was taken by Cavendish, near Cape San Lucas, in 1587, on which occasion "he had lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods." After his return to Mexico, he was despatched, by the viceroy, with three vessels, "to discover the Strait of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify that strait, to resist the passage and proceeding of the English nation, which were feared to pass through that strait into the South Sea." This expedition, however, proving abortive, he was again sent, in 1592, with a small caravel, for the same purpose, in which "he followed his course west and north-west," along the coasts of Mexico and California, "until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and, there finding that the land trended north and north-east; with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime north-west, and north-east, and north, and also east, and south-eastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and, at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the north-west coast thereof, a great head-land or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon. * * * * Being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits, where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned to Acapulco."

The Greek went on to say that, upon his arrival in Mexico, the vice-

* The whole *note* will be found among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter A.

roy had welcomed him, and promised him a great reward ; but that, after waiting in vain for two years, he had stole away to Europe, and, “ understanding the noble mind of the queen of England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England, and serve her majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the north-west passage into the South Sea, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons’ burden, and a pinnace ; and that he would perform it in thirty days’ time, from one end to the other of the strait.” Mr. Lock says that, on receiving this account, he endeavored to interest Sir Walter Raleigh, and other eminent persons in England, in behalf of the Greek pilot, and to have him employed on a voyage such as he proposed to undertake ; but he was unable to do so, and, by the last accounts, the old man was dying in Cephalonia, in 1602.

These are the most material circumstances respecting Juan de Fuca and his voyage, as related by Mr. Lock, who was an intelligent and respectable merchant engaged in the Levant trade.* Other English writers, of the same time, allude to the subject ; but they afford no additional particulars, nor has any thing been since learned, calculated to prove directly even that such a person as Juan de Fuca ever existed. On the contrary, the author of the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, who loses no opportunity to exalt the merits of his countrymen as discoverers, after examining many papers in the archives of the Indies, relating to the period given as the date of the voyage, pronounces the whole to be a fabrication. The account attracted little attention in England, and was almost unknown, out of that kingdom, until after the publication of the journals of the last expedition of Cook, who conceived that he had, by his examinations on the north-western coasts of America, ascertained its falsehood. More recent examinations in that quarter have, however, served to establish a strong presumption in favor of its authenticity and general correctness, so far as the supposed narrator could himself have known ; for they show that the geographical descriptions contained in it are as nearly conformable with the truth, as those of any other account of a voyage written in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Thus Juan de Fuca says that, between the 47th and 48th

* He was, for some time, the English consul at Aleppo, and was an intimate friend of Hakluyt, for whom he translated the Decades of Pedro Martir, and furnished other papers published by that collector.

degrees of latitude, he entered a broad inlet of sea, in which he sailed for twenty days, and found the land trending north-west, and north-east, and north, and east, and south-east, and that, in this course, he passed numerous islands. Now, the fact is, that, between the 48th and 49th degrees, a broad inlet of sea does extend from the Pacific, eastward, apparently penetrating the American continent to the distance of more than one hundred miles, after which it turns north-westward, and, continuing in that direction about two hundred and fifty miles farther, it again joins the Pacific Ocean. The differences as to the position and course of the inlet, between the two descriptions here compared, are few and slight, and are certainly all within the limits of supposable error on the part of the Greek, especially considering his advanced age, and the circumstance that he spoke only from recollection; while, on the other hand, the coincidences are too strong to be attributable only to chance. The pilot, indeed, asserts that through this inlet he sailed to the Atlantic, but he does not pretend that he reached any known coast, or previously-determined point of that ocean; so that he is liable only to the charge of having made an erroneous estimate of the extent and value of his discovery, which he might well have done, without any intention to deceive, as the breadth of the North American continent was then unknown.

Some false reports, such as those above mentioned, respecting the discovery of a northern passage between the two oceans, and the existence of rich nations in its vicinity, together with a desire to lessen the dangers of the navigation along the western side of California, by providing the ships in the Philippine trade with proper descriptions of the coasts, induced King Philip II. of Spain, in 1595, to order that measures should be taken for a complete survey of it.* There were, also, other reasons for examining that part of

* "His majesty knew that the viceroys of Mexico had endeavored to discover a northern passage; and he had found, among his father's papers, a declaration of certain strangers, to the effect that they had been driven, by violent winds, from the codfish coast, [about Newfoundland,] on the Atlantic, to the South Sea, through the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino, and had, on their way, seen a rich and populous city, well fortified, and inhabited by a numerous and civilized nation, who had treated them well; as also many other things worthy to be seen and known. His majesty had also been informed that ships, sailing from China to Mexico, ran great risks, particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms are most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, mostly belonging to his majesty, should find places for relief and refreshment when needed." Whereupon, his majesty ordered the count de Monterey, viceroy of Mexico, to have those coasts surveyed, at his own expense, with all care and diligence, &c. — Torquemada, vol. i. p. 693.

the continent, as the Spaniards were then engaged in the settlement of New Mexico, or the country traversed by the River *Bravo del Norte*, in which their colonies extended nearly to the 40th degree of latitude; and they had no clear idea of the distance between that region and the Pacific.

The count de Monterey, viceroy of Mexico, in consequence, despatched three vessels from Acapulco, in the spring of 1596, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino, a distinguished officer, who had been in the ship *Santa Anna*, when she was taken and burnt by Cavendish, off Cape San Lucas. Nothing, however, was gained by this expedition. For reasons of which we are not informed by the Spanish historians, Vizcaino did not proceed beyond the Californian Gulf, on the shores of which he endeavored to plant colonies, first at a place called St. Sebastian, and afterwards at La Paz, or Santa Cruz, where Cortes had made a similar attempt sixty years before: but both these places were soon abandoned, on account of the sterility of the surrounding country, and the ferocity of the natives; and Vizcaino returned to Mexico before the end of the year.*

The viceroy had most probably hoped, by means of this voyage, to escape the infliction of the heavy expenses of an expedition such as that which he was enjoined to make by the royal decree; but King Philip II. died in 1598, and one of the first acts of the reign of his successor, Philip III., was a peremptory order for the immediate despatch of a squadron from Mexico, to complete the survey of the west coasts of the continent, agreeably to the previous instructions. The viceroy thereupon commenced preparations for the purpose on an extended scale of equipment. Two large ships and a *fragata*, or small vessel, were provided at Acapulco, and furnished with all the requisites for a long voyage of discovery; and, in addition to their regular crews, a number of pilots, draughtsmen, and educated priests, were engaged, forming together, says the

* This expedition is thus noticed by Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522:—

“ We have seen a letter written the 8th of October, 1597, at a town called *Pueblo de los Angeles*, eighteen leagues from Mexico, making mention of the islands of California, situated two or three hundred leagues from the main land of New Spain, in the South Sea, as that thither have been sent, before that time, some people to conquer them, which, with loss of some twenty men, were forced back, after that they had well visited, and found those islands or countries to be very rich of gold and silver mines, and of very fair Oriental pearls, which were caught, in good quantity, upon one fathom and a half, passing, in beauty, the pearls of Margarita. The report thereof caused the viceroy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico, with two hundred men, to conquer the same.”

historian Torquemada, "the most enlightened corps ever raised in New Spain." The direction of the whole expedition was intrusted to Sebastian Vizcaino, as captain-general, who sailed in the largest ship; the other being commanded by Toribio Gomez de Corvan, as admiral—an office equivalent in rank to that of vice-admiral in the British service: the *fragata* was under ensign Martin de Aguilar.*

All things being prepared, the vessels took their departure from Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, and, after many troubles and delays at various places on the Mexican coast, they were assembled in the small Bay of San Bernabé, now called Port San José, immediately east of Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of the Californian peninsula. There they remained until the 5th of July, when they rounded the cape, and the survey of the west coast was commenced from that point. The prosecution of the enterprise was thenceforward attended by constant difficulties: the scurvy, as usual, soon broke out among the crews; and the Spaniards had their courage and perseverance severely tried by their "chief enemy, the north-west wind," which was raised up, says Torquemada, "by the foe of the human race, in order to prevent the advance of the ships, and to delay the discovery of those countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to the Catholic faith."

Vizcaino and his followers, however, bore up nobly against all these obstacles, and executed the duty confided to them most faithfully. Proceeding slowly northward, they reached the extensive *Bay of La Magdalena*, between the 24th and 25th parallels of latitude, of which Vizcaino's survey was, until recently, the only one upon record; and before the end of August, the vessels which had been separated almost ever since quitting Cape San Lucas, were again united in a harbor in the island called *Isla de Cedros*, or Isle of Cedars, by Cabrillo, but now generally known as *Isla de Cerros*, or Isle of Mountains. Continuing their examination, they found a bay near the 31st degree of latitude, which they named the *Port of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*, now called *Port San Quintin*, and said to be an excellent harbor; and farther north they entered the *Port San Miguel* of Cabrillo, to which they assigned the appella-

* Torquemada, vol. i. p. 694. — Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 60. — Torquemada's accounts are derived chiefly from the Journal of Fray Antonio de la Asencion, the chaplain of one of the ships. The author of the Introduction, &c., had recourse to the original notes of the expedition, from which he constructed a chart of the coast surveyed.

tion of *Port San Diego*. There Vizcaino received accounts, from the natives, of people residing in the interior, who had beards, wore clothes, and dwelt in cities; but he could learn no further particulars, and was, upon the whole, inclined to believe that, unless the Indians were deceiving him, these people must be the Spaniards recently settled in New Mexico, on the River Bravo del Norte.

Having minutely surveyed Port San Diego, the Spaniards quitted it on the 1st of December, and sailed through the Archipelago of Santa Barbara, in one of the islands of which Cabrillo died sixty years previous; then doubling the Cape de Galera of that navigator, to which they gave the name of *Cape Conception*, now borne by it, they anchored, in the middle of the month, in a spacious and secure harbor, near the 37th parallel, where they remained some time, engaged in refitting their vessels and obtaining a supply of water. This harbor — the *Port of Pines* of Cabrillo — was named *Port Monterey* by Vizcaino, in honor of the viceroy of Mexico; and as, before reaching it, sixteen of the crews of the vessels had died, and many of the others were incapable of duty from disease, it was determined that Corvan, the admiral, should return to Mexico in his ship, carrying the invalids, with letters to the viceroy, urging the immediate establishment of colonies and garrisons at San Diego and Monterey. Corvan, accordingly, on the 29th, sailed for Acapulco, where he arrived after a long and perilous voyage, with but few of his men alive; whilst Vizcaino, with his ship and the *fragata*, prosecuted their exploration along the coast towards the north.

On the 3d of January, 1603, after the departure of Corvan, Vizcaino, accompanied by the small vessel under Aguilar, quitted Monterey; but, ere proceeding much farther north, they were driven back by a severe gale, in the course of which the two vessels were separated. The ship took refuge in the Bay of San Francisco, which seems to have been then well known; and search was made for the wreck of the San Augustin, which had been there lost, as already mentioned, in 1595, during her voyage from the Philippine Islands to Acapulco. Finding no traces of that vessel, Vizcaino again put to sea; and, passing a promontory, which he supposed to be Cape Mendocino, he, on the 20th of January, reached a high, white bluff, in latitude, as ascertained by solar observation, of 42 degrees, which, in honor of the saint of that day, was named *Cape San Sebastian*. By this time, few of his men were fit for

service; the weather was stormy, the cold was severe, the provisions were nearly exhausted; and, as the small vessel did not appear, the commander, with the assent of his officers, resolved to direct his course towards Mexico. He did so, and arrived at Acapulco on the 21st of March.

The *fragata*, or small vessel, also reached Mexico about the same time, having, however, lost, by sickness, her commander, Martin de Aguilar, her pilot, Flores, and the greater part of her crew. Torquemada's account of her voyage, after parting with Vizcaino's ship, is short, and by no means clear; but the circumstances therein related have attracted so much attention, that a translation of it should be here presented. The historian says,—

“The *fragata* parted from the *capitana*, [Vizcaino's ship,] and, supposing that she had gone onward, sailed in pursuit of her. Being in the latitude of 41 degrees, the wind began to blow from the south-west; and the *fragata*, being unable to withstand the waves on her beam, ran before the wind, until she found shelter under the land, and anchored near Cape Mendocino, behind a great rock, where she remained until the gale had passed over. When the wind had become less violent, they continued their voyage close along the shore; and, on the 19th of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in the latitude of 43 degrees, where the land formed a cape or point, which was named *Cape Blanco*. From that point, the coast begins to turn to the north-west; and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash-trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile, on its banks, which they endeavored to enter, but could not, from the force of the current. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the commander, and Antonio Flores, the pilot, seeing that they had already reached a higher latitude than had been ordered by the viceroy, in his instructions, that the *capitana* did not appear, and that the number of the sick was great, agreed to return to Acapulco; and they did so, as I shall hereafter show. It is supposed that this river is the one leading to a great city, which was discovered by the Dutch when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Strait of Anian, through which the ship passed, in sailing from the North Sea to the South Sea; and that the city called *Quivira* is in those parts; and that this is the region referred to in the account which his majesty read, and which induced him to order this expedition.”

This account of the discovery of a great river, near the 43d

degree of latitude, was, for a long time, universally credited, and excited many speculations. The supposed river was first, as Torquemada says, generally believed to be the long-sought Strait of Anian. It was then, upon the strength of a statement made by the captain of a Manilla ship, in 1620, universally considered as the western mouth of a passage, or channel, connecting the ocean with the northern extremity of the Californian Gulf; and, accordingly, during the remainder of the seventeenth century, California was represented, on all maps, as an island, of which Cape Blanco was the northern end. When this error had been corrected, the existence of a great river, flowing from the centre of America into the Pacific, under the 43d parallel, was again affirmed by some geographers; while others again placed at this point the western entrance of a passage leading to the Atlantic.

It is now certain that no such stream or channel as that which Aguilar is reported to have seen, falls into the Pacific within three degrees of the 43d parallel; although the mouths of two small rivers are situated near the point where that line crosses the western coast of the continent. Several head-lands project into the ocean, not far from the positions assigned to the Capes Blanco and San Sebastian. The former may have been the promontory, in latitude of 42 degrees 52 minutes, on which Vancouver, in 1792, bestowed the name of *Cape Orford*.

On comparing the accounts of Vizcaino's voyage with those of Cabrillo's, it appears that the same, or very nearly the same, portions of the American coast were seen by both commanders. The expedition of Vizcaino was, however, conducted in a much more efficient manner than the other; and a mass of valuable information, respecting the geography of the western side of California, was collected, in the shape of notes, plans, and sketches, upon which were founded the first maps of that coast approaching to correctness.

Vizcaino, after his return to Mexico, endeavored to prevail upon the viceroy to establish colonies and garrisons on the western side of California, at places which he recommended, in order to facilitate the trade with India, and to prevent the occupation of the American coasts by people of other nations. His efforts, with this view, however, produced no effect, as the viceroys never encouraged such enterprises, being generally obliged to pay the costs themselves, and Vizcaino, in consequence, went to Spain, where, after many years of solicitation, he at length procured the royal mandate,

and a promise of means for the execution of his projects. Armed with these, he hastened back to Mexico, and began his preparations; but, while thus engaged, he was seized with a sickness, of which he died in 1608, and the enterprise was then abandoned.

The Spanish government, at the period of Vizcaino's expeditions, appears, indeed, to have been seriously interested in the exploration of the Pacific, with which object several voyages were made from Peru and Mexico. In 1595, Alvaro de Mendana discovered the group of islands in the southern division of that ocean, to which he gave the name of *Islas de las Marquesas*, (Islands of the Marchionesses,) in token of his admiration of the beauty and grace of their women. In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros visited many other islands in the same sea, not previously known, among which were, probably, those now called *Otaheite* and *Owyhee*: he also believed that he had ascertained the existence of a great southern continent, which he named *Australia del Espiritu Santo*; and, like Vizcaino, he spent many years at Madrid, in endeavors to obtain from the government the command of an expedition for the occupation of this new land.

CHAPTER III.

1608 to 1768.

The North-West Coasts of North America remain nearly neglected during the whole of this Period — Efforts of the English and the Dutch to find new Passages into the Pacific — Discovery of Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Bay — Discovery of the Passage around Cape Horn — Establishment of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company — Endeavors of the Spaniards to settle California unsuccessful — The Jesuits undertake the Reduction of California — Establishments of the Jesuits in the Peninsula, and their Expulsion from the Spanish Dominions.

For more than a hundred and sixty years after the death of Vizcaino, no attempt was made, by the Spaniards, to form establishments on the west coast of California, or to extend their discoveries in that part of America.

Those countries, in the mean time, remained unknown, and almost entirely neglected, by the civilized world. The Spanish galleons, on their way from Manilla to Acapulco, annually passed along the coasts south of Cape Mendocino, which were described in Spanish works on the navigation of the Pacific; and some spots, farther north, were, as will be hereafter particularly shown, visited by the Russians, in their exploring and trading voyages from Kamtchatka: but no new information, of an exact nature, was obtained with regard to those regions, and they were represented on maps according to the fancy of the geographer, or to the degree of faith which he placed in the last fabrication respecting them. Numerous were the stories, gravely related and published in France and England, of powerful nations, of great rivers, of interior seas, and of navigable passages connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, north of California. The most remarkable of these stories is the account of the voyage of Admiral Fonté, already presented. Captain Coxton, a veteran bucanier, who flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century, also declared that he had, in 1688, sailed from the North Pacific, far eastward, into the American continent, through a river which ran out of a great lake, called the *Lake of Thoyaga*, containing many islands, inhabited by a numerous

and warlike population ; and, upon the strength of the assertions of this worthy, the lake and river, as described by him, were laid down on many of the maps of that time. North-west America was, indeed, during the period here mentioned, the *terra incognitissima*, the favorite scene of extraordinary adventures and Utopian romances. Bacon there placed his Atlantis ; and Brobdignag, agreeably to the very precise description of its locality furnished by its discoverer, the accomplished and veracious Captain Lemuel Gulliver, must have been situated near the Strait of Fuca.

The Atlantic Ocean, and its American coasts, and the South Pacific, were, however, not neglected by the Europeans during the seventeenth century. Soon after the termination of Vizcaino's labors, settlements were made, in many places on the Atlantic, between the Gulfs of Mexico and of St. Lawrence, by the English, the French, and the Dutch, generally under the protection of charters from the governments of those nations, in which the territories of the several colonies were declared to extend from the Atlantic westward to the Pacific ; and some of the most valuable of the West India Islands had fallen into the possession of the same powers.

Many discoveries were likewise effected, within this period, on the coasts of the New World, and in the adjoining seas, some of which were of great and immediate importance, while the others served to strengthen the expectation that a *north-west passage*, or navigable channel of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, would be speedily found. Thus, in 1608, Henry Hudson discovered, or rediscovered, the strait, and the bay connected by it with the Atlantic, to both of which his name is now attached ; and, eight years afterwards, the adventurous William Baffin penetrated, through the arm of that ocean now called *Baffin's Bay*, separating Greenland from America, into a passage extending westward, under the 74th parallel of latitude, where his ship was arrested by ice.

The results of the voyages of Baffin, and other navigators, who followed the same course, were not calculated to increase the hope that the desired passage to the Pacific would be found opening into Baffin's Bay. Strong grounds were, however, afforded for the expectation that it might be discovered in one of the arms of Hudson's Bay which had not been completely explored ; and, in consequence, the whole region surrounding the latter sea was, in 1669, granted, by King Charles II., to an association of merchants

and gentlemen, styled — *The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay* — with the object,* expressed in the charter, of encouraging the search for a northern passage to the Pacific.

The most important discovery made in the seventeenth century was that of the open sea, south of Magellan's Strait, through which the Dutch navigators Lemaire and Van Schouten sailed, in 1616, from the Atlantic into the Pacific, around the island promontory named by them *Cape Horn*, in honor of their native city in Holland. By means of this new route, the perils and difficulties of the navigation between the two oceans were so much lessened, that voyages from Europe to the Pacific were no longer regarded as very hazardous enterprises; and the Spanish possessions and commerce on that ocean were ever after annoyed by the armed ships of nations at war with Spain, or by pirates and smugglers of various classes and denominations.

The Gulf of California became the principal resort of the Dutch pirates, or, rather, privateers, who, under the name of *Pichilingues*,† kept the inhabitants of the adjacent coasts of Mexico in constant anxiety. For the purpose of dislodging these depredators, and also of obtaining advantages from the pearl fishery in the gulf, several attempts were made, by the government of Spain, and by individuals in Mexico, to establish colonies, garrisons, and fishing or trading posts, on the eastern side of the peninsula of California. The details of the expeditions for these purposes, made by Vicuña and Ortega in 1631, by Barriga and Porter in 1644, by Piñadero in 1664 and 1667, by Lucenilla in 1668, and by Atondo in 1683, are devoid of interest. Many pearls were obtained, among which are some of the most valuable in the regalia of Spain; but the establishments all failed from want of funds, from the extreme barrenness of the soil, and the determined hostility of the natives of the peninsula, and, above all, from the indolence and viciousness of the persons employed in the expeditions. In the last attempt of this kind, under the direction of Don Isidro de Atondo, a number of settlers, soldiers, and Jesuits, were carried out from Mexico, and distributed at points on the gulf where the establishments were to be formed; but these stations were all abandoned before the end of a year, and it was thereupon resolved, in a council of the chief

* See Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter I, No. 1.

† So called from the Bay of Pichilingue, on the east coast of the Californian peninsula, which was the principal rendezvous of these Dutch pirates.

authorities of Mexico, that the reduction of California by such means was impracticable.

The Jesuits, who had accompanied Atondo to California, while concurring in this opinion with the council, nevertheless insisted that the desired political objects might be attained by a different course, namely, by the civilization and conversion to Christianity of the natives of that country; and this task they offered themselves to undertake, doubting not that their labors would be crowned with the same success which had attended them in Paraguay. Their proposition was, as might have been expected, coldly received by the authorities, who could gain nothing by its execution. The Jesuits, however, not being disheartened by this refusal, perambulated the whole country, preaching, and exhorting all to contribute to the accomplishment of an enterprise so pious and so politic. By such means, and by the coöperation of their brethren in Europe, they raised a small fund; and finally, in 1697, they procured royal warrants, authorizing them to enter upon the reduction of California *for the king*, and to do all that might tend to that object *at their own expense*. On receiving these warrants, Father Salvatierra, the chief missionary, immediately sailed, with a few laborers and soldiers, to the land which was to be the scene of their operations. There he was soon after joined by Fathers Kuhn, (a German, called, by the Spaniards, *Kino*,) Piccolo, Ugarte, and others, all men of courage and education, and enthusiastically devoted to the cause in which they were engaged; and, in November, 1697, the first establishment, called *Loreto*, was founded on the eastern side of the peninsula, about two hundred miles from the Pacific.

The Jesuits, on entering California, had to encounter the same perils and obstacles which had rendered ineffectual all the other attempts to occupy that country. They were attacked by the natives, to whose ferocity several of the fathers fell victims; the land was so barren, that it scarcely yielded the means of sustaining life to the most industrious agriculturist, for which reason the settlements were all located near the sea, in order that the necessary food might be procured by fishing; and the persons employed in their service, being drawn from the most miserable classes in Mexico, were always indolent and insubordinate, and generally preferred loitering on the shore, in search of pearls, to engaging in the regular labors required for the support of settlers in a new region. The operations of the Jesuits were also, for some time, confined within the narrowest limits, from want of funds. Their

brethren and friends occasionally made remittances to them, in money or goods; and the king was persuaded to assign, for their use, a small annual allowance: but the Mexican treasury, which was charged with the payment of this allowance, was seldom able to meet their drafts when presented; and the assistance derived from all these sources was much diminished in value before it reached those for whom it was destined. Embarrassments of this nature occurred in 1702, at the commencement of the undertaking, in consequence of the great costs of the expeditions from Mexico for the occupation of Texas, and the establishment of garrisons at Pensacola and other places in Florida, as checks upon the French.

By perseverance and kindness, however, rather than by any other means, the Jesuits overcame all the difficulties to which they were exposed; and within sixty years after their entrance into California, they had formed sixteen principal establishments, called missions, extending in a chain along the eastern side of the peninsula from Cape San Lucas to the head of the gulf. Each of these missions comprised a church, a fort garrisoned by a few soldiers, and some stores and dwelling-houses, all under the entire control of the resident Jesuit; and it formed the centre of a district containing several *rancherias*, or villages of converted Indians. The principal mission or capital was *Loreto*; south of it was *La Paz*, the port of communication with Mexico, probably the same place called *Santa Cruz* by Cortes, where he endeavored to plant a colony in 1535; and near Cape San Lucas was *San Jose*, at which an attempt was made to provide means for the repair and refreshment of vessels employed in the Philippine trade. No establishments were formed on the west coast, which does not seem to have been visited by the Jesuits, except on one occasion, in 1716. The villages were each under the superintendence of Indians selected for the purpose, of whom one possessed the powers of a governor, another took care of the church or chapel, and a third summoned the inhabitants to prayers and reported the delinquents. The children were taught to speak, read, write, and sing, in Spanish, and were initiated into the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion. The converts were directed in their labors by the fathers; each being generally allowed to retain the fruits of his industry, though he was at the same time made to understand that he could not claim them as his property. Immigration from other countries, except of Jesuits, was as far as possible prevented; the efforts of the missionaries being, in California as in Paraguay, devoted exclusively to the

improvement of the natives, and their union into a species of commonwealth, under the guidance of their preceptors.

The Jesuits also in California, as in Paraguay and elsewhere, exerted themselves assiduously in acquiring a knowledge of the geography, natural history, and languages of the country. They surveyed the whole coast of the Californian Gulf, determining with exactness the relative positions of the principal points on it; and in 1709, Father Kuhn ascertained beyond doubt the fact of the connection of the peninsula with the continent, which had been denied for a century. Indeed, as regards the eastern and middle parts of the peninsula, nearly all the information which we possess at the present day has been derived through the labors of these missionaries. On all those subjects, the results of their researches were communicated to the world through the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, published, from time to time, at Paris, by learned members of their order, and afterwards more fully in their *History of California*,* which appeared at Madrid in 1757, and has been translated into all the languages of Western Europe.

In the mean time,—that is to say, ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century,—the power of Spain had, from a variety of causes, been constantly declining. Her resources, and those of her colonies, had, within that period, been materially reduced; in maritime force she had fallen far below England and France, and a large portion of America, including valuable and extensive territories, which had been long occupied by her subjects, had passed into the hands of her rivals or enemies. Her government, indeed, resisted, as long as possible, these intrusions and encroachments, as they were considered, of other nations upon territories of which Spain claimed exclusive possession in virtue of the papal grant of 1493, as well as of prior discovery; and never, until forced by absolute necessity, did the court of Madrid recognize the claim of any other power, except Portugal, to occupy countries in the New World, or to navigate the Western Atlantic, or any part of the Pacific. The earliest recognition of such a right by Spain was

* *Noticia de California y de su Conquista espiritual y temporal*.—This work, though usually attributed to Venegas, is doubtless chiefly due to the labors of Father Andres Marcos Burriel. The portions relating to the proceedings of the Jesuits in California are highly interesting, and bear every internal mark of truth and authenticity. The observations on the policy of the Spanish government towards its American possessions are replete with wisdom, and indicate more liberality, as well as boldness, on the part of the authors, than could have been reasonably expected, considering the circumstances under which they were written and published.

made in the *American treaty*, as it was called, concluded with Great Britain in 1670, by which it was agreed that the British king should have and enjoy forever, with plenary right of sovereignty and property, all lands, regions, islands, and colonies, possessed by him or his subjects in the West Indies, or in any part of America; with the understanding, however, that the subjects of neither power should trade with, or sail to, any place in those countries belonging to the other, unless forced thither by stress of weather or pursuit by enemies or pirates. These stipulations were renewed and confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, in which the queen of England, moreover, engaged to give assistance to the Spaniards for the restoration of the ancient limits of their dominions *in the West Indies, as they were in the time of King Charles II. of Spain*; and it was by common consent established, as a chief and fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce in the *Spanish West Indies* should remain as it was in the time of that king, who died in 1700.

The terms of these, and all other treaties on the same subject, between Great Britain and Spain, were, however, so vague, that they served rather to increase than to prevent disputes. The meaning of the expression *Spanish West Indies* never could be fixed to the satisfaction of both the parties; and it was impossible for them, in any case of alleged trespass by either upon the rights of the other, to agree as to what were the limits of their respective dominions, or what was the state of their navigation and commerce at the time of the death of King Charles II., or at any other time. The British colonies were, nevertheless, constantly advancing and absorbing those of other European powers, and all the attempts of the Spaniards to check their prosperity were ineffectual.

The French, by their occupation of Louisiana and the western half of St. Domingo, also gave great uneasiness to the Spaniards for some time; but the political interests of the two nations had become so closely involved, by the family ties between their sovereigns, that Spain, as the weaker, in this and in the other cases, was obliged to submit to the influence and encroachments of her powerful ally.

At length; in 1763, peace was restored among these three great powers. Spain recovered from France New Orleans and the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi; while the remainder of Louisiana, together with Florida, Canada, and all the other French possessions on the North American continent, became the property

of Great Britain. The interests of France in the New World were so small, after these arrangements, that they could scarcely of themselves afford grounds for dispute between her and Spain; and the two crowns were, moreover, supposed to be firmly united by a treaty celebrated in history as the *Family Compact*, concluded in 1762, through the agency, chiefly, of the duke de Choiseul, prime minister of France, by which the sovereigns of those kingdoms guarantied to each other all their dominions in every part of the world, and engaged to consider as their common enemy any nation which should become the enemy of either.

The claims of Spain to the sovereignty of the western side of America were never made the subject of controversy with any other state until 1790; but her pretensions to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, though upheld by her government even after that period, had long before ceased to be regarded with respect by the rest of the world. The free-traders, freebooters, and bucaniers,—that is to say, the smugglers and pirates,—of Great Britain, France, and Holland, led the way into that ocean, which they continued to infest during the whole of the seventeenth and a part of the eighteenth centuries: they were followed by the armed squadrons of those nations, with one or other of which Spain was almost always at war; and during the intervals of peace came the exploring ships of the same powers, whose voyages, though at first ostensibly scientific, were, with good reason, considered at Madrid as ominous of evil to the dominion of Spain in America.*

These exploring voyages became more frequent, and their objects were avowedly political as well as scientific, after the peace of 1763; about which time, moreover, they were rendered more safe, expeditious, and effective in every respect, by the introduction of the reflecting quadrant and the chronometer into use on board the public ships of all the maritime nations of Europe, except Spain and Portugal. Between that year and 1779 the Pacific and the southern oceans were annually swept by well-appointed ships of Great Britain or France, under able navigators, whose journals were published immediately on the conclusion of their voyages, in the

* Lord Lansdowne, in a speech in the British House of Lords, December 13, 1790, on the subject of the convention then recently concluded with Spain, said —“Sir Benjamin Keene, [ambassador from Great Britain at Madrid from 1754 to 1757,] one of the ablest foreign ministers this country ever had, used to say, that, if the Spaniards vexed us in the first instance, we had means enough to vex them in return, without infringing treaties; and the first step he would recommend would be to send out ships of discovery to the South Sea.”

most authentic manner possible, illustrated by maps, plans, tables, views of scenery, and portraits of natives, all conspiring to afford the most exact ideas of the objects and places described in the narratives. New lands and new objects and channels of commercial and political enterprise were thus opened to all; and new principles of national right, adverse to the subsistence of the exclusive system so long maintained by the Spanish government, were established and recognized among all other states.

The voyages of the British exploring ships were, until 1773, confined to the southern parts of the ocean: but the Spanish government had been constantly in dread of their appearance in the North Pacific, particularly as a navigable communication between that ocean and the Atlantic, in the north, was again generally believed to exist. The acquisition of Canada by Great Britain rendered the discovery of such a passage much more important to that power, as there was less danger that any other nation should derive advantages from it, to the injury of British interests; while Spain, becoming possessed of Louisiana, which was supposed to extend indefinitely northward, had thus additional reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction any attempts of her rival to advance westward across the continent.

Serious grounds of apprehension were also afforded by the proceedings of the Russians on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific. All that was generally known of them was obtained from the maps and accounts of the French geographers, which, though vague and contradictory, yet served to establish the certainty that this ambitious and enterprising nation had formed colonies and naval stations in the north-easternmost part of Asia, and had found and taken possession of extensive territories beyond the sea bathing those shores; and these circumstances were sufficient to alarm the Spanish government for the safety of its provinces on the western side of America.

In order to avert the evils thus supposed to be impending, and at the same time to revive the claims of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, and to the possession of the vacant territories of America adjoining her settled provinces, as well as to render those provinces more advantageous to and dependent on the mother country, a system was devised at Madrid, about the year 1765, embracing a series of measures which were to be applied as circumstances might dictate or permit. This system, which is supposed to have been elaborated chiefly by Carrasco, the fiscal of

the Council of Castile, and Galvez, a high officer of the Council of the Indies, embraced reforms in every part of the administration, particularly in the finances of the American dominions, the shameful abuses in which had been laid open by Ulloa, in his celebrated report * presented to the government in 1747. It was likewise intended that the vacant coasts and islands, adjacent to the settled provinces in the New World, should be examined and occupied by colonies and garrisons sufficient for their protection against the attempts of foreign nations to seize them, or at least to secure to Spain the semblance of a right of sovereignty over them, on the ground of prior discovery and settlement. The deliberations with regard to this system seem to have been conducted with the utmost secrecy by the Spanish government; and no idea was entertained of its objects in 1766, when Galvez, the officer above named, arrived in Mexico as *visitador*,† with full powers to carry the new measures into effect in that part of the dominions.

This Galvez was a man of the most violent and tyrannical disposition. His arbitrary proceedings in financial matters occasioned an insurrection in the province of Puebla, which nothing but the firmness and good sense of the marquis de Croix, then viceroy of Mexico, prevented from becoming general. He then engaged in an expensive war against the Indians in Sonora and Sinaloa, the countries bordering on the eastern side of the Californian Gulf, from which very little either of honor or of profit accrued to Spain; and a portion of his impetuosity having thus escaped, he turned his attention towards California, where he was charged with an important duty.

The sovereigns of continental Europe and their ministers had long been impatient and jealous of the influence enjoyed, or sup-

* *Noticias secretas de America* — Secret information respecting the internal administration of Peru, Quito, Chile, and New Granada, collected by Don Antonio de Ulloa and Don Jorge Juan, who had been sent for that purpose by the Spanish government in 1740; the only work from which it is possible to obtain a true picture of the state of those countries, and of the abuses and corruptions practised in them by the Spanish officials. It was first published at London, in 1826, by some political refugees of that nation, who had obtained possession of the original manuscript.

† "This title is given to persons charged by the court of Madrid to make inquiries as to the state of the colonies. Their *visits*, in general, produce no other effects than to balance for a time the authorities of the viceroy and the audiencia, [powers almost always at variance,] and to cause an infinite number of memorials, petitions, and plans, to be devised and presented, and some new tax to be imposed. The people of the country look for the arrival of a *visitador* with the same impatience with which they afterwards desire his departure." — Humboldt's *Essay on Mexico*, book ii. chapter vii.

posed to be enjoyed, by the Jesuits; and the governments of Spain and Portugal, though always opposed to each other, were equally mistrustful as to the objects and proceedings of that order in the New World. Suspicions were entertained at Lisbon and at Madrid that those proceedings were not dictated solely by religious or philanthropic motives; but that the Jesuits aspired to the separation and exclusive control of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern America: and these suspicions were increased by the successful stand which they made in Paraguay, at the head of the natives, against the division of that province, and the transfer of a portion of its territory to Portugal, agreeably to the treaty concluded between the latter kingdom and Spain, in 1750. This act drew down upon the order the hatred of the subtle and fearless marquis de Pombal, who then ruled Portugal with a rod of steel; from that moment he devoted himself to its destruction, and, his plans having been disposed with care and secrecy, all its members were expelled from the Portuguese dominions, without difficulty, in 1759. In France, the Jesuits were soon after entirely overthrown by the agency of the duke de Choiseul, the minister, and madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV.; and on the 2d of April, 1767, a decree was unexpectedly issued by King Charles III. of Spain, at the instigation of the celebrated count de Aranda, for their immediate banishment from the Spanish territories. This decree was executed without delay in every part of the empire. In Mexico, the Jesuits, to the number of several hundreds, were, in July following, arrested and sent off to Europe; and a strong military force was at the same time despatched to California, under the command of Don Gaspar de Portola, who found no difficulty in tearing a few old priests from the arms of their wailing converts.

Thus ended the rule of the Jesuits in California. That their efforts were attended with good cannot be denied; for those who were the immediate objects of their care, were certainly rendered happier, more comfortable, and more free from vice, than they would otherwise have been. Unfortunately, however, the aborigines of California are among the most indolent and brutish of the human race; with minds as sterile and unimprovable as the soil of their peninsula. By constant watchfulness, by the judicious administration of rewards as well as punishments, by the removal of all evil examples, and, above all, by studiously practising themselves what they recommended to others, the benevolent, wise, and persevering Jesuits did indeed introduce a certain degree of civilization, or

apparent civilization, among these people ; but there is no reason to believe that, by any means as yet employed for the purpose, a single Californian Indian has been rendered a useful, or even an innocuous, member of society.

There was, however, no intention on the part of the Spanish government to abandon California. On the contrary, the peninsula immediately became a province of Mexico, and was provided with military and civil officers dependent on the viceroy of that kingdom ; and the missions were confided to the Dominicans, under whose austere rule the majority of the converts relapsed into barbarism. Establishments were also formed by the Spaniards on the western side of California ; and the coasts farther north, which had been neglected for more than a hundred and sixty years, were explored in voyages made for the purpose from Mexico, as will be shown in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1769 to 1779.

First Establishments on the West Coast of California founded by the Spaniards — Dispute between Spain and Great Britain respecting the Falkland Islands — Exploring Voyages of the Spaniards under Perez, Heceta and Bodega, and Arteaga and Bodega — Discovery of Nootka Sound, Norfolk Sound, and the Mouth of the Columbia River — Importance of these Discoveries.

IMMEDIATELY after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico, the viceroy of Mexico, De Croix, and the *visitador*, Galvez, directed their attention to the establishment of colonies and garrisons on the western side of California, agreeably to the system adopted for the restauration of the Spanish dominions in the New World.

At that time, little was known, with certainty, of any part of the west coast of America north of the 43d parallel, to which latitude it had been explored by Sebastian Vizcaino, in 1603. The voyage of Juan de Fuca was generally considered as apocryphal, and nothing of an exact nature could be learned from the accounts of the Russian expeditions in that quarter. Upon examining the charts and journals of Vizcaino, descriptions were found of several places surveyed by him, which he strongly recommended as suitable for settlements or naval stations; and, agreeably to his views, it was determined in Mexico that the first establishments should be formed on the harbors which had received from that navigator the names of *Port San Diego* and *Port Monterey*. Accordingly, after much difficulty, a small number of settlers, with some soldiers and Franciscan friars, were assembled at La Paz, on the western shore of the Californian Gulf, which had been selected as the place of rendezvous; and thence, in the spring of 1769,* they began their march

* This account of the establishment of the first Spanish colonies on the west coast of California is derived from — the narrative of Miguel Costanso, the engineer of the expedition, which was published at Mexico in 1771, and immediately suppressed by the government; a copy, however, escaped to England, from which a translation was published at London, in 1790, by A. Dalrymple — and from the biography of Friar Junipero Serra, the principal of the Franciscans who accompanied the expedition, written by Friar Francisco Palou, and published at Mexico in 1787.

through the peninsula towards San Diego, the nearest of the places selected for the first establishments, in two parties, commanded respectively by Gaspar de Portola, the governor of the newly-formed province, and Fernando de Rivera, a captain in the army. Each party carried a drove of cattle; the materials and supplies for the colonies being sent in three vessels directly to San Diego.

The first party of emigrants under Rivera, after a long and painful march, reached San Diego on the 14th of May, 1769, and found there two of the vessels, which, after disastrous voyages and the loss of many of their crews by scurvy, had arrived a few days previous. The other body, under Portola, marched by a still more difficult route, and did not join their companions on the Pacific shore until nearly two months later. A spot having been chosen for the settlement near the entrance of the Bay of San Diego, a portion of the men were employed in erecting the necessary buildings; with the remainder Portola set off for Monterey, where he was anxious also to establish a colony immediately, leaving directions that the third vessel, which was expected from Mexico, should be ordered to proceed with her cargo to that place. This expedition, however, was not successful; for the Spaniards, marching along the eastern side of the range of mountains which border the coast northward of San Diego, passed by Monterey, and found themselves, at the end of October, on the shore of a great bay, which they supposed to be the same called *Port San Francisco* in the accounts of the old navigators. When they discovered the place of which they were in search, the cold weather had begun; and, the vessel not appearing, with the supplies, as expected, they were obliged to retrace their steps to San Diego. Of this third vessel nothing was ever heard after her departure from the Gulf of California.

In the mean time, the people left at San Diego had experienced great difficulties from the hostility of the natives, by whom they were several times attacked; and, after the return of the governor's party, they were all in danger of perishing from want of food: so that they unanimously agreed to abandon the country and return to Mexico, unless they should be relieved, before St. Joseph's day, the 10th of March, 1770, by the return of one of the vessels, which had been sent for supplies. On that day, one of the vessels did arrive, and, the supplies being found sufficient, Portola again set off for Monterey, where a settlement was effected. During the same year, other parties of emigrants came from Mexico, and new

establishments were formed on the coast between San Diego and Monterey; and, as the means of subsistence soon became abundant by the multiplication of their cattle, independently of the fruits of their labor in agriculture, the Spanish colonies in Upper California were, before 1775, in a condition to resist the dangers to which they were likely to be exposed.

Another measure, undertaken by the Spanish government about this time, in prosecution of its plans for securing the unsettled coasts and islands of America from occupation by foreign powers, brought Spain into collision, and nearly into war, with Great Britain.

Soon after the peace of 1763, colonies were formed by the French and the British on the barren, storm-vexed group of the Falkland Islands, in the South Atlantic Ocean, near the entrance of Magellan's Strait. The French colonists were soon withdrawn by their government, at the instance of the Spanish king, though not until after an angry discussion: the British ministers, on the other hand, treated with contempt the remonstrances addressed to them from Madrid, on the subject of their settlement. At length, in June, 1770, the British colonists were expelled from Port Egmont, the place which they occupied, by a squadron and troops sent for the purpose from Buenos Ayres by Don Francisco Bucareli, the governor of that province. This event created great excitement in England, and both nations prepared for war; but the dispute was compromised through the mediation of France. A *declaration* was presented on the part of Spain, to the effect — that the Catholic king disavowed the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and promised to restore the settlers to Port Egmont; but that these concessions were not to be considered as prejudicing his prior right of sovereignty over the islands: and the British minister gave in return an *acceptance* of the disavowal and promise of restoration, without noticing the Spanish reservation of right.* Agreeably to this promise, the British colonists were replaced at Port Egmont in 1771; but they were withdrawn by order of their government in 1774, on the plea of the expensiveness and inutility of the establishment, but, as is

* The documents relative to this dispute may be found at length in the London Annual Register, and in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1770. See, also,—the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi.—the Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, chap. xxxix.—Thoughts on the Falkland Islands, by Dr. Samuel Johnson, &c. The author of this History may also be permitted to refer to—a Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Falkland Islands—written by himself, and published in the New York Merchant's Magazine for February, 1842, containing full accounts of all the circumstances connected with this famous dispute.

generally believed, in consequence of a secret engagement to that effect, concluded between the parties* at the time of the settlement

* The existence of such an engagement was first insinuated by Junius, in his letter of January 30th, 1771, and was soon after directly charged, in parliament, by eminent members, without reply from the ministers. Johnson made no attempt to deny it in his *Thoughts, &c.*, but, on the contrary, in an edition published after the evacuation by the British, he admits that the "island was, perhaps, kept only to quiet clamors, with an intention, not then wholly concealed, of quitting it in a short time." That the British ministers did *engage* to evacuate Port Egmont, soon after it should have been restored, is positively asserted in the *Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham*, in the *Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise*, by Flassan, and in the *Histories of England*, by Bisset, Belsham, Hughes, and Wade; while Coote and Adolphus both admit that an *assurance* to the same effect was made to Spain prior to the settlement of the dispute. The *Pictorial History of England*, published in 1841, states the belief as to the existence of the secret engagement, leaving the question as to its truth undetermined. In fine, it was regarded as an established fact, that, *at the time of the conclusion of the dispute, an engagement or promise was made by the British government to that of Spain, to withdraw all British subjects from the Falkland Islands within a short time after Port Egmont should have been restored to Great Britain*; and this fact remained unquestioned until the 8th of January, 1834, when Lord Palmerston, the British secretary for foreign affairs, in answer to a protest on the part of the government of Buenos Ayres against the recent occupation of the Falkland Islands by Great Britain, formally denied it, and produced a number of extracts from correspondence *between British ministers and their own agents*, which he considered as affording "conclusive evidence that no such secret understanding could have existed," as it is not mentioned in those extracts. The papers cited by Lord Palmerston, and the arguments which he draws from them, are, however, insufficient to change the general belief on the subject; for in none of them should we expect to find any allusion to the engagement in question. There is no apparent reason that the ministers should have informed any of the persons addressed in these letters of their promise to evacuate the islands; while, on the other hand, it was clearly important for them to suppress all proof of their having made such an engagement, which the whole British people would have considered dishonoring. It is no novelty in diplomacy, that an ambassador should be kept in ignorance of matters settled or discussed between his own ministers of state and those of the government to which he is accredited; and the very negotiation by which this dispute was terminated, was carried on through the agency of the secretary of the French embassy at London, while the ambassador himself knew nothing about it.

Equally inefficient to produce conviction is the assertion of Lord Palmerston in the same letter, "that the reservation (with regard to the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands) contained in the Spanish *declaration* cannot be admitted to possess any substantial weight, inasmuch as no notice whatever is taken of it in the British *counter-declaration*." In the first place, no *counter-declaration* was made on the occasion: the British minister presented, in return for the Spanish ambassador's *declaration*, a paper containing not a word of contradiction, and which is, as it was styled when submitted to parliament, an *acceptance*. These two documents — the only ones which are as yet *known* to have passed on the conclusion of the dispute — cannot be separated in reasoning on their contents, but must be taken together, as forming *one convention, admitted by both parties*; for it will not be pretended that the Spanish ambassador delivered his declaration, without full knowledge of the answer which was to be made to it. The silence of the British minister on the subject of the reservation amounts, at least, to an acknowledgment that *the fact of the restitution of Port Egmont was not regarded as a surrender by Spain of her claim of sovereignty over the Islands*.

of the dispute. Bucareli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, whose acts had been disavowed by his sovereign, was raised to the high and lucrative post of viceroy of Mexico.

The issue of this dispute between Great Britain and Spain, served to impress upon the government of the latter power still more strongly, the conviction of the necessity of occupying the vacant ~~coasts~~ *coasts* and islands of America adjoining its settled provinces. Efforts for this purpose were accordingly made, not only on the *coasts* of California, but also on those of Texas, of the Mosquito country, and of Patagonia, and were continued, at great expense, though with little effect, until 1779, when they were abandoned, in consequence of the wars excited by the revolution which ended in the independence of the United States.

The efforts of the Spanish government were, however, specially directed towards the west coasts of North America; and, in order to give them efficiency, a particular branch of the administration of Mexico was created, under the title of the *Marine Department of San Blas*, which was charged with the superintendence and advancement of the establishments in that quarter. The port of San Blas, in Mexico, at the entrance of the Californian Gulf, was made the centre of the operations for these purposes: arsenals, ship-yards, and warehouses, were erected there; all expeditions for the coasts farther north were made from it, and all orders relative to them passed through the chief of the department, who resided at that port.

In this manner, before 1779, eight establishments were formed, by the Spaniards, on the Pacific coast of America, between the Californian peninsula and Cape Mendocino; the southernmost of which was San Diego, near the 32d degree of latitude, and the northernmost, San Francisco, on the great bay of the same name, near the 38th. These establishments were, in their character, almost exclusively military and missionary; being intended solely for the occupation of the country, which it was proposed to effect, as far as possible, by the conversion of the aborigines to the Catholic religion, and to the forms and customs of civilized life.

The military arrangements were all on the most miserable scale. The forts, some of them dignified with the name of *castles*, were of mud; the artillery were a few old pieces, of various sizes, generally ineffective, and the garrisons were all slender: the men were badly armed, badly clothed, and seldom or never exercised, though they were well fed, as the country was covered with cattle,

the descendants of the herds brought thither by the Spaniards in 1770; and the ground yielded, with little cultivation, as much Indian corn, beans, and red pepper, as could be consumed. The missions were, for the most part, in the vicinity of the military stations, and, like those of the Jesuits, they each contained a church, generally well built, with some ruder edifices, for the accommodation of the priests and their converts, and for store and work-houses. The public farms were worked by the natives, under the direction of the missionaries or soldiers, and merely produced the food required in the establishments, and, in some places, a little wine. Towns were afterwards formed, some of which were endowed with the privileges of a corporation; but none of them attained a large size.

The missionaries were, as already stated, of the Franciscan order, the members of which are incapacitated, by their vows, from holding any property as individuals. They were, for the most part, plain, uneducated men — taken from the lower classes of society, and knowing no books but their breviaries, and the biographies of their saints — who devoted themselves conscientiously and heroically to the task of reclaiming and guiding the barbarous natives of that remote region — without any expectation of acquiring wealth or honors — unsupported by the ambition and pride of order which animated the Jesuits — and uncheered by those social pleasures and consolations which our Protestant apostles derive from their families, wherever they may be placed. To their virtuous conduct and self-denial all the enlightened travellers* who have visited their missions bear unqualified testimony.

These missionaries soon succeeded in reducing a large number of the natives of California to a certain degree of conformity with the customs of social life. The neophytes were obtained, generally when young, from their parents, by persuasion, or by purchase, or, in some cases, by force, and were never suffered to return to their savage friends, if it could be prevented. They were all, at first, treated as children; the nature and hours of their labors, their studies, their meals, and their recreations, being prescribed by their superintendents; and they were punished when negligent or refractory, though not with severity. After remaining ten years in this state of pupilage, they might obtain their liberty, and have ground allotted to them; but comparatively few availed themselves

* La Perouse, Vancouver, Kotzebue, Beechey, &c.

of the permission, and those who did so, for the most part, sunk into sloth and misery, or returned to the wilds, and resumed the savage life. In the latter cases, the Spaniards employed every means in their power to retake the fugitives, who were, indeed, often sent back by the barbarians, as unworthy of enjoying the privileges of freemen.

The Franciscans did not, like the Jesuits, exert themselves in procuring information respecting the countries in which they resided; and nothing has been learnt from them of the geography or natural history of the part of California which they occupied. In 1775, Friars Font and Garzes travelled, by land, from Mexico, through Sonora, and the country of the Colorado River, to the mission of San Gabriel, in California, making observations on their way, with the view to the increase of intercourse between Mexico and the establishments in the latter region. They were, however, coldly received by their brethren, who informed them that they had no desire to have such communications opened; and their journal was never made public. In the same year, Friars Dominguez and Escalante, of the same order, attempted to penetrate westward from Santa Fé, in New Mexico, to the Pacific; but, after proceeding about half the distance, they turned back. The journals of both these expeditions are still preserved, in manuscript, in Mexico, where they have been consulted by Humboldt and other travellers; but they are, from all accounts, of no value.

Between 1774 and 1779, three exploring voyages were made, by order of the Spanish government, in which the west coasts of America were examined, as far north as the 60th degree of latitude.

The first of these voyages was conducted by Ensign Juan Perez, who had been long employed in the Manilla trade, and afterwards in the vessels sailing between San Blas and the new establishments on the Californian coast. He was accompanied by Estevan Martinez, as pilot, and Friars Peña and Crespi, as chaplains, from whose journals, as well as from those of the commander, the following account of the voyage is derived.*

Perez sailed from San Blas in the corvette Santiago, on the 25th

* The authorities for the account of this expedition are — the Narrative composed by Perez for the viceroy — the Journal of Friar Tomas de la Peña — and the Observations of the pilot Martinez — manuscript copies of which have been procured from Madrid. The Journal of Friar Crespi was examined by Humboldt, who has given some particulars derived from it in his Essay on Mexico. Of this voyage no account was ever given to the world until 1802, when a short notice of it appeared in the Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana.

of January, 1774, with orders, from the viceroy of Mexico, to proceed, as soon as possible, northward, to the 60th degree of latitude, and then to survey the coasts of America from that parallel, southward, to Monterey, taking possession, for the king, of every place at which he might land. From San Blas he went first to San Diego, and thence to Monterey, from which latter place he took his departure, on the 16th of June, for the north. The weather, as usual in that part of the Pacific, proved stormy, the winds blowing almost constantly from the north-west; so that it was not until the 18th of July that the *Santiago* reached the 54th parallel of latitude, under which land was first seen in the east. The coast thus observed was high and rocky, extending southward as far as the eye could penetrate, and terminating, in the north, in a point, to which Perez gave the name of *Cape Santa Margarita*. In the interior was seen a lofty, snow-covered range of mountains, which he called the *Sierra de San Cristoval*. On approaching the shore, the Spaniards could find no place where it would be safe to anchor; and, on rounding the cape, the coast beyond it was found to stretch directly westward. By this time, the crew were beginning to show symptoms of scurvy, the weather was tempestuous, and the vessel was small, and badly provided in every respect; under which circumstances, it was determined that no attempt should be made to go farther north. The Spaniards accordingly steered southward, along the coast, for about a hundred miles, and were then driven off by a storm: before leaving it, however, they met some of the natives, in their canoes, with whom they traded, receiving sea-otter and other valuable skins in return for old clothes, knives, shells, and other trifles.

The land thus discovered was the west side of the large island afterwards named *Queen Charlotte's Island* by the British; Cape Santa Margarita being the north-easternmost point, now called, on English maps, *Cape North*, at the entrance of *Dixon's Channel*. Many particulars respecting the people of these coasts are recorded in the journals of the Spaniards, which agree precisely with the accounts of subsequent navigators.

On the 9th of August, Perez again made the land, and discovered, under the parallel of 49 degrees 30 minutes, a deep bay, at the entrance of which he anchored, between two high points, one bearing six leagues north-west, the other two leagues south-east. Ere long, his vessel was surrounded by canoes, filled with natives of the country, who readily engaged in trade with his crew: they are

represented, in the journal of Friar Peña, as having lighter complexions than other aborigines of America; like those farther north, they were clad in skins, their hats being, however, made of rushes, curiously plaited and painted, of a conical shape, with a knob on the top. To the surprise of the Spaniards, they had many knives, arrow-points, and other articles, of iron and copper, though it did not appear that they had held any intercourse with civilized people. To this bay Perez gave the name of *Port San Lorenzo*, in honor of the saint on whose day it was first seen; it is undoubtedly the same which, four years afterwards, received, from Captain Cook, the appellation of *King George's* or *Nootka Sound*. The point north-west of its entrance, called, by the Spaniards, *Cape Santa Clara*, is the *Woody Point* of the English; and the other point — the *Cape San Estevan* of Perez — corresponds precisely, in situation and all other particulars, as described, with the *Point Breakers* of the English navigator.

From Port San Lorenzo, the Spaniards sailed along the coast southward; and, in the latitude of 47 degrees 47 minutes, they beheld, at a distance in the interior, on the east, a lofty mountain, covered with snow, which they named *Sierra de Santa Rosalia* — probably the *Mount Olympus* of the English maps. Martinez, the pilot of the *Santiago*, many years after, thought proper to remember that he had also observed, between the 48th and the 49th parallels, a wide opening in the land, and that he had given his own name to the point on the south side of its entrance. Of this observation no note appears in the journals of the voyage; yet, upon the strength of the tardy recollection of the pilot, his countrymen have claimed for him the merit of rediscovering the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and have affixed the name of *Cape Martinez*, in their charts, to the point of the continent where that passage joins the Pacific. Continuing his voyage to the south, Perez, on the 21st of August, passed in sight of Cape Mendocino, the true latitude of which he first determined; and, on the 27th, he arrived at Monterey, whence he, after some time, went on to San Blas.

In this voyage, the first made by the Spaniards along the north-west coasts of America after 1603, very little was learned, except that there was land, on the eastern side of the Pacific, as far north as the latitude of 54 degrees. The government of Spain, perhaps, acted wisely in concealing the accounts of the expedition, which reflected little honor on the courage or the science of its navigators; but it has thereby deprived itself of the means of establishing

beyond question the claim of Perez to the discovery of the important harbor called *Nootka Sound*, which is now, by general consent, assigned to Captain Cook.

Immediately after the return of Perez to Mexico, the viceroy Bucareli (the same officer who, as governor of Buenos Ayres, had expelled the British from the Falkland Islands in 1770) ordered that another expedition should be made for the purpose of examining those coasts as far as the 65th degree of latitude, to which they were believed to extend continuously north-westward. With this object the *Santiago* was placed under the command of Captain Bruno Heceta, under whom Perez was to go as ensign; and she was to be accompanied by a small schooner, called the *Sonora*, of which Juan de Ayala was to have the command, and Antonio Maurelle to be pilot. These two vessels, having been equipped, and provided with the *History of California* by Venegas, and a chart of the whole north-west coast of America, constructed according to the fancy of the French geographer Bellin, in 1766,* sailed together from San Blas, on the 15th of March, 1775, in company with the schooner *San Carlos*, bound for Monterey.† Ere they had lost sight of the land, however, the captain of the *San Carlos* became delirious, in consequence of which Ayala was ordered to take his place, the command of the *Sonora* being transferred to Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. These circumstances are mentioned, because, in nearly all the abstracts of the accounts of this voyage hitherto published, Ayala appears as the chief of the expedition; whereas, in fact, he only accompanied the exploring vessels to a short distance from San Blas.

* Carte réduite de l'Océan septentrional, compris entre l'Asie et l'Amérique, suivant les Découvertes faites par les Russes. Par N. Bellin. Paris, 1766.

† Of this expedition no less than five separate accounts are found among the manuscripts obtained from Madrid, viz.: the official narrative of the whole, drawn up for the viceroy of Mexico—the *Journal of Bodega*—part of the *Journal of Heceta*, showing his course after his parting with Bodega—a concise narrative by Bodega—and, lastly, the *Journal of Maurelle*, the pilot of the *Sonora*. A copy of Maurelle's *Journal* was obtained in Madrid, soon after the conclusion of the voyage, from which an English translation was published at London, in 1781, by the Hon. Daines Barrington, among his *Miscellanies*. This translation, though very inaccurate and incomplete, attracted much attention at the time of its appearance, and from it, and the short account given in the Introduction to the *Journal of Galiano and Valdes*, all the information respecting the voyage has been hitherto obtained. Barrington's *Miscellanies* is, however, a rare book; and the notices of this expedition contained in the various memoirs, reports, correspondence, &c., relative to the north-west coast, are, for the most part, taken directly, or at second hand, from the abstracts of the *Journal*, given by Fleurieu in his instructions to La Perouse, and his Introduction to the *Journal of Marchand*, which are both filled with errors.

The exploring vessels, after parting with the *San Carlos*, doubled Cape Mendocino, and, on the 10th of June, anchored in a small roadstead beyond that promontory, in the latitude of 41 degrees 10 minutes. The officers, priests, and a portion of the men, immediately landed, and took possession of the country, in the name of their sovereign, with religious solemnities, bestowing upon the harbor the name of *Port Trinidad*; and they then engaged in repairing their vessels and obtaining a supply of water, which afforded them employment for nine days.

During this period, the Spaniards held frequent communications with the people of the country, who dwelt principally on the banks of a small stream, named by the navigators *Rio de las Tortolas*, — *Pigeon River*, — from the multitude of those birds in its vicinity. The Indians conducted themselves uniformly in the most peaceable manner, and appeared to be, on the whole, an inoffensive and industrious race. They were clothed, for the most part, in skins, and armed with bows and arrows, in the use of which they were very expert; their arrows were, in general, tipped with copper or iron, of which metals they had knives and other implements — whence procured the Spaniards could not learn. No signs of religious feelings, or ceremonies of any kind, could be discovered among them, unless their howling over the bodies of the dead may be considered in that light.

Having completed their arrangements, Heceta and Bodega sailed from Port Trinidad on the 19th of June, leaving a cross erected near the shore, with an inscription, setting forth the fact of their having visited the place and taken possession of it for their sovereign: this monument the Indians promised to respect; and they kept their word, for Vancouver found it there untouched in 1793. The Spaniards considered the discovery of the place important: the harbor being, according to their journals, safe and spacious, and presenting facilities for communication between vessels and the shore; and the surrounding country fruitful and agreeable. Vancouver, however, gives a much less favorable view of the harbor, which he pronounces to be in no respect a secure retreat for vessels, as it is entirely open to the south-west winds, which blow on that coast with the utmost violence at certain seasons of the year. The other accounts of the Spaniards, respecting the place and its inhabitants, are, in general, confirmed by those of the British navigator.

The Spaniards, after leaving Port Trinidad, were obliged to keep

at a distance from the coast for three weeks, at the end of which time they again came in sight of it, in the latitude of 48 degrees 27 minutes. From that parallel they examined the shore towards the south, in search of the strait said to have been discovered by Juan de Fuca in 1592, the entrance of which was placed, in Bellin's chart, between the 47th and the 48th degrees of latitude; and, having satisfied themselves that no such opening existed there, the two vessels cast anchor near the land, though at some distance from each other, in order to obtain water and to trade with the natives.

Here a severe misfortune befell the schooner on the 14th of July. Seven of her men, who had been sent ashore in her *only boat*, though well armed, were attacked and murdered, immediately on landing, by the natives; and the schooner was herself in much danger of being taken by those savages, who surrounded her, during the whole day, in great numbers, in their canoes, and were with difficulty prevented from boarding her. In commemoration of this melancholy event, the place at which it occurred was called *Punta de Martires*—*Martyr's Point*; it is in the latitude of 47 degrees 20 minutes, and on English maps is called *Grenville's Point*. A small island, situated a few miles farther north, the only one deserving that name between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, was also named *Isla de Dolores*—*Isle of Sorrows*: twelve years afterwards, this same isle received, from the captain of the ship *Imperial Eagle*, of Ostend, the appellation of *Destruction Island*, in consequence of a similar massacre of some of his crew by the Indians, on the main land opposite.

This disaster, together with the wretched condition of the schooner, and the appearance of scurvy in the crews of both vessels, occasioned a debate among the officers, as to the propriety of continuing the voyage. The commander, Heceta, was desirous to return to Monterey, in which, however, he was opposed by his own pilot, Juan Perez, and by Bodega, the captain, and Maurelle, the pilot, of the schooner; and, their opinions having been given, as usual in the Spanish service, in writing, the unwilling assent of the commander was obtained, and the voyage towards the north was resumed on the 20th of July. Ere they had proceeded far in that direction, the vessels were separated in a storm; whereupon Heceta seized the opportunity to go back to Monterey, whilst Bodega persevered in his determination to accomplish, as far as possible, the objects of the expedition.

Heceta, after parting with the schooner, made the land near the

50th degree of latitude, (on the south-west side of the great island of Vancouver and Quadra,) and, passing by the Port San Lorenzo, (Nootka Sound,) discovered in the previous year by Perez, he came on the coast of the continent near the 48th parallel, without observing the intermediate entrance of the Strait of Fuca, for which he, however, sought between the 47th and 48th parallels. Thence he ran along the shore towards the south, and, on the 15th of August, arrived opposite an opening, in the latitude of 46 degrees 17 minutes, from which rushed a current so strong as to prevent his entering it. This circumstance convinced him that it was the mouth of some great river, or, perhaps, of the Strait of Fuca, which might have been erroneously placed on his chart: he, in consequence, remained in its vicinity another day, in the hope of ascertaining the true character of the place; but, being still unable to enter the opening, he continued his voyage towards the south.*

On the opening in the coast thus discovered Heceta bestowed the name of *Ensenada de Asuncion* † — *Assumption Inlet*; calling the point on its north side *Cape San Roque*, and that on the south *Cape Frondoso* — *Leafy Cape*. In the charts published at Mexico, soon after the conclusion of the voyage, the entrance is, however, called *Ensenada de Heceta* — *Heceta's Inlet* — and *Rio de San Roque* — *River of St. Roc*. It was, undoubtedly, the mouth of the greatest river on the western side of America; the same which was, in 1792, first entered by the ship *Columbia*, from Boston, under the command of Robert Gray, and has ever since been called the *Columbia*. The evidence of its first discovery by Heceta, on the 15th of August, 1775, is unquestionable.

From Assumption Inlet, Heceta continued his course, along the shore of the continent, towards the south, and arrived at Monterey, with nearly two thirds of his men sick, on the 30th of August. In his journal, he particularly describes many places on this part of the coast which are now well known; such as — the remarkable promontory, in the latitude of $45\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, with small, rocky islets in front, named by him *Cape Falcon*, the *Cape Lookout* of our maps — the flat-topped mountain, overhanging the ocean, a little farther south, noted, in his journal, as *La Mesa*, or *The Table*, which, in 1805,

* See extract from the Journal of Heceta, among the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter E, in the latter part of this volume.

† The 15th of August is the day of the Assumption, and the 16th is the day of St. Roque, or Roc, and St. Jacinto, or Hyacinth, according to the Roman Catholic calendar.

received, from Lewis and Clarke, the name of *Clarke's Point of View*—and the numerous rocky points and reefs bordering the shore, between those places and Cape Mendocino.

Meanwhile, Bodega and Maurelle, in their little vessel, were striving, if possible, to reach the 65th degree of latitude, agreeably to the instructions of the viceroy. With this object, after their separation from Heceta, they advanced towards the north, without seeing land, until they had passed the 56th degree of latitude, when they unexpectedly beheld it, on the 16th of August, at a great distance in the north, and much nearer on the east; though, by Bellin's chart, and their own calculations, they should have been one hundred and thirty-five leagues from any part of America. Steering towards the east, they discovered a lofty mountain, rising from the ocean in the form of a beautiful cone, and covered with snow, occupying the whole of what seemed to be a peninsula, projecting from the main land of an extensive and elevated territory: this mountain immediately received the name of *San Jacinto*, in honor of St. Hyacinth, on whose day it was discovered, the projecting point of land which it occupied being called *Cape Engaño*, or *False Cape*. In the angles between this supposed peninsula and the main land were two bays, or sounds, of which the northernmost was named *Port Remedios*, and the other *Port Guadalupe*, after the two celebrated shrines in the vicinity of the city of Mexico. There is no difficulty in identifying any of these places, as described in the journals of the Spanish voyage. They are situated on the west side of the largest island of the group distinguished, on English maps, as *King George III.'s Archipelago*: Mount San Jacinto was, three years afterwards, named by Cook *Mount Edgecumbe*; Port Remedios is the *Bay of Islands* of the same navigator, and Port Guadalupe is the *Norfolk Sound* of the English geographers. The two bays have since been found to communicate with each other by a narrow passage, which completely separates the main land from the mountain. The Spaniards landed on the shore of Port Remedios, where they took possession of the country agreeably to the formalities prescribed, and obtained some water and salmon for the supply of their vessel. While thus engaged, they were surrounded by a crowd of natives of the country, who appeared to be more savage and determined than those of any other part of the coast, and also to entertain very distinct ideas of their own superior rights of property and domain. Thus the Spaniards were obliged to pay, not only for the fish, but also for

the water taken away by them; and the cross, and other marks which they planted on the shore, were torn up immediately on their departure, and treated with every indignity by the savages.

The voyage was resumed on the 20th of August, and was continued along the coast, to the 58th degree of latitude, beyond which it was found impossible to proceed, as nearly all on board were, from fatigue and sickness, incapable of performing duty, whilst the winds were daily increasing in violence, and rendering greater exertions necessary. They accordingly, on the 22d, turned towards the south; and, having passed Mount San Jacinto, they approached the coast, in order to seek for the *Rio de Reyes*, the great river through which Admiral Fonté was said to have penetrated far into the interior of the American continent, in 1640. "With this intent," writes Maurelle, in his journal, "we examined every bay and recess of the coast, and sailed around every head-land, lying to, during the night, in order that we might not miss this entrance; after which exertions, we may safely pronounce that no such passage is to be found." This conclusion was certainly correct, but it was as certainly not established by the exertions of the Spaniards on this occasion: for, in the first place, they confined their search to the part of the coast north of the 54th parallel, whereas, in the account of Fonté's voyage, the *Rio de Reyes* is made to enter the Pacific under the 53d; and, had their observations been as minute as Maurelle represents them, several passages would have been found, leading from the ocean towards the north and east, for the complete examination of any one of which, more time would have been required than was spent by the Spaniards in their whole search. Of the many openings in that part of the coast, the only one penetrated by these navigators was the extensive bay, named, by them, *Port Bucareli*, in the latitude of $55\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, on the west side of the largest island of the group called, on English maps, the *Prince of Wales's Archipelago*, where they landed, and took possession, on the 24th of August. Thence proceeding southward, they made the north-east extremity of Queen Charlotte's Island, which had received, from Perez, in the preceding year, the name of *Cape Santa Margarita*; and they observed, immediately north of that point, the wide passage which they called *Entrada de Perez* — the *Dixon's Entrance* of the English maps, separating Queen Charlotte's from the Prince of Wales's Islands.

From Cape Santa Margarita, the Spaniards sailed slowly towards the south, frequently seeing the land, though always at too great a

distance to be able to make any useful observations, except as to the general direction of the shores, until the 19th of September, when they found themselves opposite the spot, near the 47th degree of latitude, where their men had been murdered by the natives two months before. Leaving that place, they next came on the coast in the latitude of 45 degrees 27 minutes, from which parallel they carefully examined the shores southward, to the 42d, in search of the great river, said to have been seen by Martin de Aguilar, in 1603, as related in the account of Vizcaino's voyage. Their observations induced them to conclude that no such river entered the Pacific from that part of the continent, though they perceived strong currents outsetting from the land in several places; they, however, believed that they recognized the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near which the mouth of his river was said to be situated, in a high, flat-topped promontory, with many white cliffs upon it, projecting far into the sea, under the parallel of 42 degrees and 50 minutes — the same, no doubt, afterwards named *Cape Orford* by Vancouver. Having completed this examination, they bore off to sea, and, rounding Cape Mendocino, they, on the 3d of October, discovered a bay a little north of the 38th degree of latitude, which they entered, supposing it to be Port San Francisco; but it proved to be a smaller bay, not described in any previous account, and Bodega accordingly bestowed on it his own name, which it still bears. Having made a hasty survey of Port Bodega, the Spaniards sailed to Monterey, and thence to San Blas, where they arrived on the 20th of November, after a voyage of more than eight months.

In this expedition, the commander, Heceta, certainly acquired no laurels, though he effected, at least, one discovery, from which a nation more enterprising and powerful than Spain might have derived important advantages. Bodega and Maurelle, however, nobly vindicated the character of their countrymen, by their constancy and perseverance in advancing through unknown seas, at a stormy period of the year, in their small and miserably-equipped vessel, with a diminished crew, the greater part of whom were laboring under that most debilitating and disheartening of diseases, the scurvy. Fortunately for their reputation, a copy of Maurelle's journal escaped from its prison-house in the archives of the Indies at Madrid, and was given to the world, in an English version, before the appearance of any other authentic account of the parts of the world which they had explored; and, by this means, together with the publication of their chart about the same time, their claims as discoverers were estab-

lished beyond all cavil. Thus, without reference to the voyage of Perez, it is conclusively proved that the Spaniards, in 1775, examined with minuteness the whole western shore of the American continent, from Monterey, near the 37th degree of latitude, northward, to and beyond the 48th degree, and determined the general direction of the west coasts of the westernmost islands, bordering the continent between the 48th parallel and the 58th. Of these coasts, the portion south of the 43d degree of latitude had been seen by Ferrelo, in 1543, and possibly by Drake, in 1578; Juan de Fuca had probably sailed along them to the 53d parallel, in 1592; and the Russians, as will be hereafter shown, had discovered the part near the 56th parallel, in 1741: but no definite information had been obtained, respecting any point, on the Pacific side of America, between Cape Mendocino and Mount San Jacinto, previous to the expedition of Perez. The geographical positions of the places visited by the Spanish navigators in 1774 and 1775, were, indeed, left very uncertain as regards their longitudes, though the latitudes have been found nearly correct; yet the great question as to the extension of North America towards the west was approximately answered, and useful hints were afforded for the organization and conduct of future voyages.

The results of this expedition were considered, by the Spanish government, as highly important; a short notice of them was published in the official gazette, at Madrid, which was copied, with many additions, (nearly all of them erroneous,) into the London newspapers; * and orders were sent to the viceroy of Mexico, to

* "Several Spanish frigates having been sent from Acapulco to make discoveries, and to propagate the gospel among the Indians, to the north of California, in the month of July, 1774, they navigated as high up on the coast as the latitude of 58 degrees 20 minutes, six degrees above Cape Blanco. Having discovered several good harbors and navigable rivers upon the west coast of this great continent, they established, in one of the largest ports, a garrison, and called the port the *Presidio de San Carlos*, and, besides, left a mission at every port where the inhabitants were to be found. The Indians they here met with are said to be a very docile sort of people, agreeable in their countenance, honest in their traffic, and neat in their dress, but, at the same time, idolaters to the greatest degree, having never before had any intercourse with Europeans. M. Bucarelli, the viceroy of New Spain, has received his Catholic majesty's thanks for these discoveries, as they were made under his direction; and the several navy officers upon that voyage have been preferred. It is imagined that those new discoveries will be very advantageous, as the coast abounds with whales, as also a fish, equal to the Newfoundland cod, known, in Spain, by the name of *Bacalao*."

The above notice appears in the London Annual Register for 1776, under date of June 28th, which was a few days before the departure of Captain Cook from England for the North Pacific.

have the discovery of the west coasts of America completed without delay, under the care of the same officers who had already effected so much for that object. With this view, the viceroy, Bucareli, ordered a large ship to be built at San Blas, and another was, at the same time, constructed at Guayaquil, in Quito. In these preparations, nearly three years were consumed, so that the vessels were not ready for the expedition until the beginning of 1779; they then quitted San Blas, under the command of Captain Ignacio Arteaga, who sailed in the larger ship, the *Princesa*, the other, called the *Favorita*, being commanded by Bodega, with Maurelle as second officer. Heceta had been transferred to new duties.

Of this voyage a short notice will suffice, as all the places discovered in the course of it had been visited, and minutely examined, in the preceding year, 1778, by the English, under Captain James Cook.*

On the 7th of February, 1779, Arteaga and Bodega sailed from San Blas directly for Port Bucareli, which they entered after a voyage of four months; and there they remained nearly two months, engaged in surveying the bay, in refitting their vessels, and in trading with the natives, of whom very minute and interesting accounts are given in the journals of this voyage. From Port Bucareli they sailed northward, on the 1st of July, and in a few days saw the land stretching before them from north-east to north-west: on approaching it, they beheld rising from the coast a great mountain, "higher than Orizaba," which was, no doubt, *Mount St. Elias*; and they began their search, west of these places, for a passage leading northwards into the Arctic Sea, as laid down in the charts of Bellin, which they carried with them. In the course of this search, they entered a great bay, containing many islands, on the western side of the largest of which, called by them *Isla de la Magdalena*, they found a good harbor, where they cast anchor on the 25th, and took possession of the whole region for the king of Spain. From this harbor, named by the Spaniards *Port Santiago*, parties were sent out in boats to explore the coasts; but the com-

* The papers relative to this voyage, which have been obtained, in manuscript, from the hydrographical department at Madrid, are — the official account of the whole expedition — and the journals of Bodega and Maurelle — accompanied by several tables of the navigation, and vocabularies of Indian languages, and the chart of the coast about Prince William's Sound, which is utterly worthless. A translation of a part of Maurelle's journal may be found in the first volume of the narrative of the expedition of La Perouse, accompanied by some severe, and not altogether just, reflections on the conduct of the Spanish navigators in general.

mander, Arteaga, becoming anxious to return to Mexico, soon found that the men were beginning to suffer from scurvy, that the provisions were failing, and that there was no probability of their discovering any passage, through which they might penetrate farther north; and he, in consequence, resolved that both vessels should immediately proceed to Monterey. They accordingly sailed from Port Santiago on the 7th of August; on the 15th of October they entered Port San Francisco, and on the 21st of November they arrived at San Blas, "where," says Fleurieu, with more justice than usually characterizes his remarks on Spanish voyages, "they might have passed the whole time which they spent in their expedition, without our knowledge in geography having sustained any loss by their inaction." The voyage was, in fact, productive of no benefit whatsoever, and the Spanish government should have been mortified at its results; instead of which, however, the officers engaged in it were all promoted, for their good conduct and exertions.

- Of the places visited by Arteaga and Bodega, after leaving Port Bucareli, the great bay, called by them *Enseñada de Regla*, is now generally known by the name of *Prince William's Sound*, and their *Isla de la Magdalena* is the *Montague's Island* of the English maps. It is needless to mention any other of the many appellations given by the Spaniards to capes, bays, islands, and mountains, in that part of America, as they have fallen into disuse.

In 1779, Spain became involved in war with Great Britain, and her flag did not again appear on the coasts north of Cape Mendocino until 1788. Before relating the events which occurred in that interval, it will be proper to present an account of the discoveries effected in the North Pacific, since the commencement of the century, by the Russians occupying the north-eastern extremity of Asia.

CHAPTER V.

1711 to 1779.

Discoveries of the Russians from Kamtchatka — Voyages of Bering and Tchirikof to the Arctic Sea and to the American Continent — Establishments of the Russian Fur Traders in the Aleutian Islands — Voyages of Synd, Krenitzin, and Levashef — First Voyage from Kamtchatka to China, made by Polish Exiles under Benyowsky — General Inaccuracy of the Ideas of the Russians respecting the Geography of the northernmost Coasts of the Pacific, before 1779.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coasts of Asia on the Pacific, north of the 40th parallel of latitude, were as little known as those of America on the opposite side of the ocean.

In 1643, Martin Geritzin de Vries and Hendrick Schaep, two Dutch navigators, commanding the ships *Kastrikom* and *Breskens*, explored the seas near Japan, as far north as the 48th degree of latitude, and probably entered the great gulf, called the *Sea of Ochotsk*, between the main land of Asia on the west, and Kamtchatka and the Kurile chain of islands on the east. It is also related, that Thomas Peche, an English bucanier, sailed along the same coasts in 1673, while in search of the Strait of Anian, the entrance of which he was said to have found north of Japan, though he was unable to pass through it, on account of the violence of the winds from the north.

From such imperfect accounts the maps of that part of the world were generally constructed, before 1750. In those maps, Jesso, the northernmost of the Japan Islands, appears as part of the Asiatic continent, and Kamtchatka and the Kurile Islands are represented as one extensive territory, under the name of the *Company's Land*, united to America on the east, and separated from Jesso on the west, by a narrow passage called the *Strait of Vries*, or the *Strait of Anian*.

In 1711, the whole of Northern Asia had been completely subjugated by the Russians, to whom the rich furs* abounding in those

* See the article on *Furs and the Fur Trade*, among the Proofs and Illustrations at the concluding part of this volume, under the letter B.

regions proved as attractive as the gold and silver of America were to the Spaniards. In the course of their expeditions, the Russians had traced the northern shores of Asia, to a considerable distance eastward from Europe, and they had formed establishments on those of the peninsula of Kamtchatka. But they had not yet, by their discoveries, afforded the means of determining whether Asia and America were united on the north into one continent, or were separated by a direct communication between the Pacific and the ocean north of Asia, called the *Arctic* or *Icy Sea*; nor, indeed, was it ascertained that the sea around Kamtchatka was a part of the Pacific, though it was generally believed to be so, from the traditions preserved by the natives of that peninsula, of large ships having been wrecked on their coasts.*

By these conquests the Russians had been enabled to secure, in addition to the other advantages, a commercial intercourse with China, which was carried on, agreeably to a treaty concluded in 1689, by caravans, passing between certain great marts in each empire. But the ambitious czar Peter, who then filled the Russian throne, was not content with such acquisitions; he was anxious to know what territories lay beyond the sea bounding his dominions in the east, and whether he could not, by directing his forces in that way, invade the establishments of the French, the British, or the Spaniards, in America. With these views, he ordered that vessels should be built in Kamtchatka, and equipped for voyages of discovery, to be made according to instructions which he himself drew up; while, at the same time, other vessels should proceed from Archangel, on the White Sea, eastward, to explore the ocean north of Europe and Asia, in search of a navigable communication, or *north-east passage*, through it from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Various circumstances prevented the execution of any of these projects during the lifetime of Peter. His widow and successor, Catharine, however, resolved to carry them into fulfilment; and a small vessel was, at length, in 1728, completed and prepared at the mouth of the River of Kamtchatka, on the north-east side of that peninsula, for a voyage of discovery, to be made agreeably to the instructions of the great czar. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Vitus Bering, a Dane, who had been selected for

* The particulars related in the present chapter are derived, principally, from the History of Kamtchatka, by Krascheninikof—the Account of the Russian Voyages from Asia to America, by Muller—and the Account of the Discoveries of the Russians in the North Pacific, by Coxe, the last edition of which, published in 1803, is the most complete work on the subject.

the purpose by Peter, on account of his approved courage and nautical skill; his lieutenants were Alexei Tchirikof, a Russian, and Martin Spangberg, a German, each of whom afterwards acquired reputation as a navigator.

Bering was instructed, first—to examine the coasts north and east from Kamtchatka, in order to determine whether or not they were connected with, or contiguous to, America; and next—to reach, if possible, some port belonging to Europeans on the same sea. With these objects he sailed from Kamtchatka River, on the 14th of July, 1728, and, taking a northward course along the Asiatic shore, he traced it to the latitude of 67 degrees 18 minutes: there he found the coast turning almost directly westward, and presenting nothing but rocks and snow, as far as it could be perceived, whilst no land was visible in the north or east. From these circumstances the navigator concluded that he had reached the north-eastern extremity of Asia, that the waters in which he was sailing were those of the Icy or Arctic Sea, bounding that continent on the north, and, consequently, that he had ascertained the fact of the separation of Asia from America. Being satisfied, therefore, that he had attained the objects of his voyage in that direction, and fearing that, if he should attempt to advance farther, he might be obliged to winter in those desolate regions, for which he was unprepared, he returned to Kamtchatka, where he arrived on the 2d of September. All his conclusions have been since verified; he, however, little suspected that he had, as was the fact, *twice passed within a few leagues of the American continent, through the only channel connecting the Pacific with the Arctic Sea.* When the existence of this channel was satisfactorily determined, it received, by universal consent, the name of *Bering's Strait*, which it still bears.

In the ensuing year, Bering attempted to reach the American continent, by sailing directly eastward from Kamtchatka; but, ere he had proceeded far in that course, he was assailed by violent adverse storms, which forced his vessel around the southern extremity of the peninsula, into the Gulf of Ochotsk. He then went to St. Petersburg, from which he did not return to engage in another voyage of discovery until twelve years afterwards.

While Bering thus remained at the Russian capital, the existence of a direct communication between the sea which bathes the shores of Kamtchatka and the Pacific was proved,—first, in 1729, by the wreck of a Japanese vessel on the coast of the peninsula,—and, ten years afterwards, by the voyages of two Russian vessels, under

Martin Spangberg and William Walton, from Ochotsk, through the passages between the Kurile Islands, to Japan. Within the same period, also, the connection of the Pacific with the Atlantic, by the Arctic Sea, north of Europe and Asia, had been ascertained by means of expeditions, partly on land and partly on sea, along the northernmost shores of the continents; though all the attempts made then, and since, to pass, in one vessel, around those coasts, from Europe to the Pacific, have proved abortive. Moreover, a Russian commander, named Krupischef, had sailed, in 1732, from Kamtchatka, northward, as far as the extreme point of Asia, which had been reached by Bering in his first voyage; and he had thence been driven, by storms, eastward, upon the coast of an extensive mountainous territory, which was supposed to be, and doubtless was, a part of America. Thus the great geographical fact of the entire separation of Asia and America was supposed to be determined; and all doubts as to the practicability of navigating between the Russian dominions, in the former continent, and those of Spain, in the latter, were dissipated.

These discoveries encouraged the empress Anne, who had succeeded to the throne of Russia in 1730, to persevere in endeavoring to extend her authority farther eastward; and she accordingly commissioned Bering, in 1740, to make another expedition from Kamtchatka, in search of America. For this purpose, two vessels were built in the Bay of Avatscha, on the south-east side of Kamtchatka, which had been selected for the establishment of a marine depot; and scientific men were engaged, in France and Germany, to accompany Bering, in order that precise information might be obtained on all points connected with the seas and territories to be explored.

Before the preparations were completed, the empress Anne died; but her successor, Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, immediately declared her determination to prosecute the enterprise; and, no delays being experienced, the vessels sailed together from the Bay of Avatscha, on the 4th of June, 1741. The larger vessel, called the *St. Peter*, was commanded by Bering; the other, the *St. Paul*, by Tchirikof, who had accompanied the Dane in his previous voyages. On leaving the harbor, they took an eastern course, and continued together until the 21st of the month, when they were separated during a violent gale, after which they never met again.

Of Bering's voyage, after his separation from Tchirikof, the only definite accounts are contained in the journal of Steller, the surgeon

and naturalist of the ship, which was first published, in the original German, by Professor Pallas, in 1795. Before that year, all that was known on the subject was derived from a meagre and incorrect abstract of the same journal, in Muller's collections of Russian history. Steller is by no means precise on points of navigation and geography, in consequence of which very few spots described by him can now be identified, although the general course of the voyage may be ascertained.

From Steller's journal, we learn that Bering, after parting with Tchirikof, sailed south-eastward, as far as the 46th degree of latitude; and, not reaching America, he then altered his course to the north-east, in which he continued until the 18th of July, when land was seen ahead, nearly under the 60th parallel of latitude. The point first descried by the Russians was a mountain of such extraordinary height, as to be visible at the distance of more than eighty miles: on advancing towards it, other peaks, and then ridges, appeared, stretching along the coast, and into the interior, to the utmost limits of the view; and, on entering a narrow passage, between the main land and an island, where they anchored on the 20th, they perceived a strong current of discolored water issuing from it, which convinced them that a large river emptied into the sea in its vicinity. From these indications of the extensiveness of the territory, together with its geographical position, they concluded that they had, at length, reached the American continent; and the officers thereupon entreated their commander to pursue the discovery towards the south-east, in which direction the coast trended. But Bering was then enfeebled in mind, as well as in body, by severe illness, and was anxious to return to Kamtchatka; in consequence of which, he resisted their entreaties, and, after a supply of water had been obtained from the island, they set sail for the west. None of the crew were allowed to go on the main land, lest they should be cut off by savages. On the island were found several huts, which seemed to have been recently abandoned, and various implements of fishing, hunting, and cooking, similar to those used by the Kamtchatkans; of the natives, however, not one was seen.

According to Steller, the name of *Cape St. Elias* was, much to his discontent, bestowed on this island, or some other in its vicinity, because it was reached on the day of St. Elias, agreeably to the Russian calendar. The old accounts of the expedition, however, state that Bering honored with the name of that saint the lofty mountain which had first attracted his attention; and, under this

impression, Cook, when he explored the north-west coast of America, in 1778, applied the name of *Mount St. Elias* to a stupendous peak which he observed, rising from the shore, under the 60th parallel, believing it to be, as it most probably was, the same discovered by the Russians in 1741. Vancouver, who examined this coast minutely in 1794, was convinced that the place where the Russians first anchored is on the eastern side of a bay at the foot of Mount St. Elias, on the east, which is called *Admiralty* or *Bering's Bay*, on English maps, and *Yakutat* on those of the Russians. The current of discolored water, setting out from that part of the coast, was observed, in 1838 by Belcher.

After their departure from the island, the Russians continued sailing westward, occasionally seeing the land in the north, until the 3d of August, when, in the latitude of 56 degrees, they beheld a chain of high mountains, (those of the great peninsula of Aliaska, and the contiguous island of Kodiak,) stretching before them from north to south. Upon discovering this impediment to their progress, they turned to the south-west, in order to reach the 53d parallel, under which they were sure, from their observations in coming out, that they should find an open sea to Kamtchatka: but their course was so much retarded by violent opposing winds, that they had scarcely advanced sixty miles before the end of the month; and, being then exhausted by fatigue and sickness, they anchored among a group of small islands, on one of which they remained ashore several days. There they first saw natives of America, who resembled the aborigines of Northern Asia in their features and habits, and were provided with knives, and other articles of iron and copper; although they appeared never before to have held any intercourse with civilized people. There, also, occurred the first death among the Russians, in commemoration of which, the name of the deceased sailor, *Schumagin*, was bestowed on the group. The islands now so called are about ten in number, situated near the latitude of 55½ degrees, on the eastern side, and not far from the extremity of Aliaska.

On quitting the Schumagin Islands, the Russians continued their course south-westward, and passed by other islands, which were those of the *Aleutian Archipelago*, extending westward from Aliaska, nearly under the 53d parallel. They were then assailed by furious storms, and were, for nearly two months, driven over the seas at random, while famine, disease, and despair, were daily lessening their numbers. "The general distress and mortality," says Steller,

“increased so fast, that not only the sick died, but those who pretended to be healthy, when relieved from their posts, fainted and fell down dead; of which the scantiness of the water, the want of biscuits and brandy, cold, wet, nakedness, vermin, and terror, were not the least causes.” At length, on the 5th of November, they again saw land, which proved to be an island, in the latitude of 55 degrees; and on it they resolved, at all hazards, to pass the winter. With this view, they anchored in the most secure place which could be found, close to the shore, and, having landed their stores and other necessities, they began the construction of huts out of sails and spars; but they soon had an abundant supply of materials from the wreck of their vessel, which was dashed in pieces on the island by the waves.

On the 8th of December Bering expired, worn down by sickness, fatigue, and disappointment, and thirty of the crew were consigned to their graves on the island before the ensuing summer. The survivors recovered their health, and obtained a sufficiency of food, by hunting the sea and land animals, which were found in great numbers on and about the shores. As soon as the mild season returned, they collected the pieces of the wreck, of which they made a small vessel; and, having provisioned it as well as they could, they set sail from the western side of the island on the 14th of August, 1742. Two days after, they made the coast of Kamtchatka; and, continuing along it towards the south, they, on the evening of the 27th, landed, forty-six in number, at the place in the Bay of Avatscha from which they had taken their departure fifteen months before. The island, on which they had thus passed more than nine months, is situated about eighty miles from the eastern shore of Kamtchatka, between the latitudes of $54\frac{1}{2}$ and $55\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and has, ever since its discovery, been called *Bering's Isle*; it consists entirely of granite mountains.

Such were the occurrences, and the unfortunate termination, of Bering's voyage.

Tchirikof, likewise, pursuing an eastward course, discovered land in the latitude of 56 degrees. It was a mountainous territory, with steep, rocky shores, extending on the ocean from north to south; and, the weather being unfavorable for approaching it, ten men were sent in a boat to make examinations. As these did not return, after some time, nor make any signal from the shore, six others were despatched in search of them, whose reappearance was also expected in vain; and Tchirikof was obliged, at length, to quit the

coast without learning what had befallen any of them. In the mean time, the scurvy had broken out among his crew ; and as the stormy season was approaching, he resolved to hasten back to Kamtchatka. His voyage thither was attended with great difficulties, and before the 8th of October, when he reached Avatscha, he had lost twenty-one men by sickness, including the distinguished French naturalist Delile de Croyere, in addition to the sixteen whose fate was undetermined. The land discovered by him must have been, agreeably to the account given of its latitude and bearings, the western side of one of the islands, named, on English maps, the *Prince of Wales's Archipelago*, the inhabitants of which are remarkable for their fierceness and hatred to strangers. It is, therefore, most probable that the men sent ashore by Tchirikof were murdered as soon as they landed.

These discoveries of the Russians excited some attention in Europe, where they were made known, first, by the periodical publications of France, England, and Germany, and afterwards more fully, by the scientific men and historians of those countries. In 1750, a long memoir on the subject was read by the French geographer Delisle, before the Academy of Sciences of Paris,* wherein he gives the highest praise to the Russian navigators, and pronounces, as proved by their expeditions, "that the eastern portion of Asia extends under the polar circle, towards the western part of America, from which it is separated by a strait about thirty leagues wide; this strait is often frozen over, but, when free from ice, it affords communication for vessels into the Frozen Ocean."

The Russian government did not, however, consider the discoveries of its subjects as sufficiently important to justify the immediate despatch of other vessels in the same direction; and no further attempts to explore the North Pacific were made by its authority until 1766. In the mean time, accidental circumstances, connected with Bering's last voyage, had drawn the attention of individuals in Eastern Asia to the islands seen by that navigator, on his return towards Kamtchatka; and the part of the ocean in which those islands lie had been thoroughly searched.

It has been mentioned, that the crew of Bering's vessel, during the period passed by them in the island, near Kamtchatka, had subsisted chiefly on the flesh of the sea and land animals found there. The skins of these animals, particularly of the black foxes and sea otters, were preserved by the men, and carried with them to Kamt-

* Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, for 1750, p. 142.

chatka, where they were sold at such high prices, that several of the seamen, as well as other persons, were induced immediately to go to the island and procure further supplies. In the course of the voyages made for this purpose, other islands, farther east, which had been seen by Bering and Tchirikof, were explored, and found to offer the same advantages; and the number of persons employed in seeking furs was constantly increasing.

The trade thus commenced was, for some time, carried on by individual adventurers, each of whom was alternately a seaman, a hunter, and a merchant; at length, however, some capitalists in Siberia employed their funds in the pursuit, and expeditions to the islands were, in consequence, made on a more extensive scale, and with greater regularity and efficiency.* Trading stations were established at particular points, where the furs were collected by persons left for that object; and vessels were sent, at stated periods, from the ports of Asiatic Russia, to carry the articles required for the use of the agents and hunters, or for barter with the natives, and to bring away the skins collected.

The vessels employed in this commerce were, in all respects, wretched and insecure, *the planks being merely attached together, without iron, by leathern thongs*; and, as no instruments were used by the traders for determining latitudes or longitudes at sea, their ideas of the relative positions of the places which they visited were vague and incorrect. Their navigation was, indeed, performed in the most simple and unscientific manner possible. A vessel sailing from the Bay of Avatscha, or from Cape Lopatka, the southern extremity of Kamtchatka, could not have gone far eastward, without falling in with one of the Aleutian Islands, which would serve as a mark for her course to another; and thus she might go on, from point to point, throughout the whole chain. In like manner she would return to Asia, and, if her course and rate of sailing were observed with tolerable care, there could seldom be any uncertainty as to whether she were north or south of the line of the islands. Many vessels were, nevertheless, annually lost, in consequence of

* The islands discovered and frequented by the Russian fur traders were those called the *Aleyutsky*, or *Aleutian*, extending in a line nearly along the 53d parallel of latitude, from the south-west extremity of the peninsula Aliaska, across the sea, to the vicinity of Kamtchatka. Aliaska was, likewise, supposed to be an island, until 1778, when its connection with the American continent was ascertained by Cook. The inhabitants of these islands were a bold race, who, for some time, resisted the Russians, but were finally subdued, after their numbers had been considerably reduced.

this want of knowledge of the coasts, and want of means to ascertain positions at sea; and a large number of those engaged in the trade, moreover, fell victims to cold, starvation, and scurvy, and to the enmity of the bold natives of the islands. Even as lately as 1806,* it was calculated that one third of these vessels were lost in each year. The history of the Russian trade and establishments on the North Pacific, is a series of details of dreadful disasters and sufferings; and, whatever opinions may be entertained as to the humanity of the adventurers, or the morality of their proceedings, the courage and perseverance displayed by them, in struggling against such appalling difficulties, must command universal admiration.

The furs collected, by these means, at Avatscha and Ochotsk, the principal fur-trading ports, were carried to *Irkutsk*, the capital of Eastern Siberia, whence some of them were taken to Europe; the greater portion were, however, sent to *Kiakta*, a small town just within the Russian frontier, close to the Chinese town of *Maimatchin*, through which places all the commerce between these two empires passed, agreeably to a treaty concluded at *Kiakta*, in 1728. In return for the furs, which brought higher prices in China than any where else, teas, tobacco, rice, porcelain, and silk and cotton goods, were brought to *Irkutsk*, whence all the most valuable of those articles were sent to Europe. These transportations were effected by land, except in some places, where the rivers were used as the channel of conveyance; no commercial exportation having been made from Eastern Russia, by sea, before 1779: and, when the immense distances,† between some of the points above mentioned, are considered, it becomes evident that none but objects of great value, in comparison with their bulk, at the place of their consumption, could have been thus transported, with profit to those engaged in the trade, and that a large portion of the price paid by the consumer must have been absorbed by the expense of transportation. A skin was, in fact, generally worth, at *Kiakta*, three times as much as it cost at *Ochotsk*.

The Russian government appears to have remained almost entirely unacquainted with the voyages and discoveries of its subjects,

* Krusenstern's journal of his voyage to the North Pacific.

† In the following table, each number expresses nearly the distance, in geographical miles, between the places named on either side of it:—

St. Petersburg, 460, Moscow, 1500, Tobolsk, 1800, *Irkutsk*, 1550, *Yakutsk*, 600, *Ochotsk*, 1300, *Petropawlowsk*, on the Bay of *Avatscha*; *Irkutsk*, 300, *Kiakta*, 1000, *Pekin*.

engaged in the fur trade of the North Pacific, until 1764, when the empress Catharine II. ordered that proper measures should be taken to procure exact information with regard to the islands, and the American coasts, opposite her dominions in Asia. This ambitious sovereign had then just ascended the throne, and was, or chose to appear, determined to carry out the views of Peter the Great for the extension of the Russian empire eastward beyond the Pacific.

Agreeably to the orders of Catharine, Lieutenant Synd sailed, in 1766, from Ochotsk, and advanced northward, along the coast of Kamtchatka, as far as the 66th degree of latitude; and, in the following year, he made another voyage in the same direction, in which he is supposed to have landed on the American continent. Very few particulars respecting his expeditions are, however, known, as the Russian government appears to have suppressed all accounts of them, for reasons which have been suggested, but which it is unnecessary here to repeat.

In 1768, another expedition was commenced, for the purpose of surveying the islands. With this object, Captains Krenitzin and Levaschef quitted the mouth of Kamtchatka River, in July, each commanding a small vessel; and, after cursorily examining Bering's Isle, and others near the coast of the peninsula, they stretched across to the Fox Islands, the largest and easternmost of the Archipelago, among which they passed the winter. Before the ensuing summer, nearly half the crews of both vessels had perished from scurvy; and, when the navigators returned to Kamtchatka, in October, 1769, they had done nothing more than to ascertain, approximately, the geographical positions of a few points in the Aleutian chain. It appears, indeed, that Krenitzin had employed himself exclusively in collecting furs, with which his vessel was laden on her arrival from her voyage. The only valuable information obtained by the Russian government, through this costly expedition, related to the mode of conducting the fur trade between Kamtchatka and the islands; upon which subject the reports of Levaschef were curious and instructive, and served to direct the government in its first administrative dispositions, with regard to the newly-discovered territories.

The expedition of Krenitzin and Levaschef was the last made by the Russians in the North Pacific, for purposes of discovery or investigation, before 1783. In 1771, however, took place the first voyage from the eastern coast of the empire, to a port frequented

by the ships of European nations ; and, strange to say, this voyage was conducted under the *Polish flag* ! In the month of May of that year, a few persons, chiefly Poles, who had been exiled to Kamtchatka for political reasons, succeeded in overpowering the garrison of the small town of Bolscheretsk, on the south-west side of Kamtchatka, where they were detained, and escaped to sea in a vessel then lying in the harbor. They were directed in their enterprise by Count Maurice de Benyowsky, a Hungarian, who had been an officer in the Polish service, and from whose history of his own life, afterwards published, all the accounts of their adventures are derived. From these accounts, it appears that the fugitives, on entering the Pacific, were driven northward as far as the 66th degree of latitude ; during which part of their voyage, they frequently saw the coasts of both continents, and visited several of the Aleutian Islands. At Bering's Isle they found a number of fugitive exiles, like themselves, established in possession, under the command of a Saxon ; and at Unalashka, the largest of the group, they discovered crosses, with inscriptions, erected by Krenitzin, in 1768. Proceeding thence towards the south, they touched at several places in the Kurile, Japan, and Loochoo Islands, as also at Formosa ; and, at length, in September, they arrived at Canton, where they carried the first furs which ever entered that city by sea.*

A circumstantial account of the principal voyages and discoveries of the Russians, made between 1741 and 1770, drawn from original sources, was published at St. Petersburg, in 1774, by J. L. Stæhlin, councillor of state to the empress.† These records are curious and interesting, but they throw very little light on the great geographical questions relative to that part of the world, which then remained unsolved ; and the accompanying chart only serves, at present, to show more conspicuously the value of the discoveries effected by other nations. According to this chart, the American coast extended, on the Pacific, in a line nearly due north-west from Cali-

* *Memoirs and Travels of Maurice Augustus Count de Benyowsky*, written by himself, published at London, in 1790. Benyowsky's account of his escape from Kamtchatka, and his voyage to China, were for some time discredited ; but they have since been confirmed, at least as regards the principal circumstances. He afterwards had a variety of adventures, especially in Madagascar, of which he pretended to be the rightful sovereign ; and he was, at length, killed at Foul Point, in that island, in May, 1786, while at the head of a party of Europeans and natives, in a contest with the French from the Isle of France.

† Description of the newly-discovered Islands in the Sea between Asia and America. A translation of the greater part of this work may be found in the last edition of Coxe's *History of Russian Discoveries*.

fornia, to the 70th degree of latitude, and was separated from the opposite coast of Asia by a wide expanse of sea, containing many islands, several of which correspond in name with those of the Aleutian Archipelago, though the positions assigned to them are far from correct: the largest of the islands there represented, called *Alascha*, lies under the 67th parallel, between the westernmost point of America and the most eastern of Asia. In the beautiful map of the Russian empire, published at St. Petersburg by Treschot and Schmidt, in 1776, no land, except some islands, appears within twenty-five degrees of longitude east of Kamtchatka. Other maps, however, which appeared at a much earlier period, offer a view more nearly correct of the extreme north-western coasts of America, although the geographer who constructed them must have been guided almost entirely by suppositions.

The errors of latitude, in all these maps, were very great, amounting to ten degrees, in some instances; and those of longitude were, as may be readily supposed, much more considerable. Indeed, before 1778, when Cook made his voyage through the North Pacific, the differences in longitude, between places in that part of the ocean, had never been estimated otherwise than by the *dead reckoning*, which, however carefully observed, cannot afford accurate results; nor had any relation, which could be considered as nearly correct, been established between the meridian of any point on the Atlantic and that of any point on the North Pacific.

CHAPTER VI.

1763 to 1780.

Great Britain obtains Possession of Canada — Journey of Carver to the Upper Mississippi — First Mention of the Oregon River — Inaccuracy of Carver's Statements — Journeys of Hearne through the Regions west of Hudson's Bay — Voyage of Captain Cook to the North Pacific — His important Discoveries in that Quarter, and Death — Return of his Ships to Europe ; Occurrences at Canton during their Stay in that Port.

WHILST the Russians were thus prosecuting the fur trade on the north-westernmost coasts of America, the British were engaged in the same pursuit on the north-eastern side of the continent.

It has been already mentioned that King Charles II. of England, in 1669, granted to an association of gentlemen and merchants of London the possession of all the territories surrounding Hudson's Bay, and the exclusive trade in those regions, with the object, expressed in the charter, of encouraging his subjects to prosecute the search for a *north-west passage* for ships from that sea to the Pacific Ocean. Under the protection of this charter, the Hudson's Bay Company erected forts and trading establishments on the shores of the bay, and carried on an extensive and profitable trade with the natives of that part of America, to the annoyance of the French, who, also, claimed the country as part of Canada, and more than once dislodged the British traders. It was, indeed, provided by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1714, that the Hudson's Bay territories should belong to the former nation, and that commissaries should be appointed, on both sides, to settle the line separating those territories from Canada : but no such boundary was ever fixed, by commissaries or otherwise, as will be shown hereafter ;* and the limits of the Hudson's Bay territories remained undetermined in 1763, when Canada, with all the other dominions of France in North America, east of the Mississippi, were ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris.

* See chap. xiii., and Proofs and Illustrations, letter F.

How far the Hudson's Bay Company, also, endeavored to fulfil the intention expressed in the charter, of promoting the search for a north-west passage, it is unnecessary here to inquire; suffice it to say, that, at the end of a century from the date of the concession, the question, as to the existence of such a channel, was nearly in the same state as at the commencement of that period. Hudson's Bay had been navigated by Middleton, in 1741, to the 66th degree of latitude, beyond which it was known to extend; Baffin's Bay had not been visited since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was examined imperfectly to the 74th parallel. The territories west of both these seas were entirely unexplored; but accounts, which seemed to merit some credit, had been received from the Indians, of great rivers and other waters in that direction. The desired communication with the Pacific might, therefore, exist; or the Pacific, or some navigable river falling into it, might be found within a short distance of places on the Atlantic side of the continent, accessible to vessels from Europe: and the determination of these questions became infinitely more important to Great Britain, after the acquisition of Canada.

The region extending south-west, from Hudson's Bay to the great lakes, and the head waters of the Mississippi, had long been frequented by the traders from Canada and Louisiana, and had been partially surveyed by French officers and missionaries, by whom several journals, histories, and maps, relating to those countries, had been given to the world. This region was also visited, immediately after the transfer of Canada to Great Britain, by an American, whose travels are here mentioned, because he is supposed to have thrown much light upon the geography of North-west America by his own observations, and by information collected from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi.

This traveller, Captain Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, who had served with some credit in the war against the French, particularly in the country about Lakes Champlain and George, set out from Boston in 1766, and proceeded, by way of Detroit and Michilimackinac, to the regions of the Upper Mississippi, now forming the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, where he spent two years among the Indians. His object was, as he says in the introduction to his narrative, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil, and natural productions, of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the

Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part, between the 43d and the 46th degrees of northern latitude. Had I been able," he continues, "to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts, about the Strait of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a north-west passage, or communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean." This extensive plan he was, however, unable to pursue, having been disappointed in his intention to purchase goods, and then to pursue his journey from the Upper Mississippi, "by way of the Lakes Dubois, Dupluie, and Quinipique, [the old French names of *Rainy Lake*, *Lake of the Woods*, and *Lake Winnipeg*,] to the head waters of the Great River of the West, which falls into the Strait of Anian." *

This *Great River of the West* is several times mentioned by Carver, under the name of *Oregon*, or *Origan*. In another part of his introduction, he refers to his account, in the journal, "of the situation of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the centre of the great continent, viz., the River Bourbon, [*Red River* of the north,] which empties itself into Hudson's Bay, the waters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the River Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Anian." At the conclusion of his work, also, in speaking of a project which had been formed, in 1774, by himself, Mr. Whitworth, a member of the British parliament, and other persons in London, to cross the American continent, he says that they would have "proceeded up the River St. Pierre, [*St. Peter's*,] and from thence up a branch of the River Messorie, till, having discovered the source of the Oregon, or River of the West, on the other side of the summit of the lands that divide the waters which fall into the Gulf of Mexico from those that fall into the Pacific Ocean, they would have sailed

* Travels throughout the interior Parts of North America, in 1766—8, by Jonathan Carver, London, 1778. It consists of—an introduction, showing what the author had done and wished to do—a journal of his travels, with descriptions of the countries visited, and—an account of the origin, habits, religion, and languages, of the Indians of the country about the Upper Mississippi, which account occupies two thirds of the work, and is extracted almost entirely, and, in many parts, *verbatim*, from the French journals and histories. The book was written, or rather made up, at London, at the suggestion of Dr. Lettsom and other gentlemen, and printed for the purpose of relieving the wants of the author, who, however, died there, in misery, in 1780, at the age of 48.

down that river, to the place where it is said to empty itself, near the Straits of Anian."

From these declarations, it has been supposed, by many, that Carver was the first to make known to the world the existence of the great stream since discovered, and named the *Columbia*, which drains nearly the whole region, on the Pacific side of America, between the 40th and the 54th parallels of latitude; and that stream is, in consequence, frequently called the *Oregon*. On examining the journal of the traveller, however, we find no further mention of, or allusion to, his river than is contained in the following passages: "From these nations, [called by him the *Naudowessies*, the *Assinipoils*, and the *Killistinoes*,] together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America — viz., the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, and the Oregon, or River of the West, (as I hinted in my introduction) — have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west. This shows that these parts are the highest in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the world, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of two thousand miles from their sources; for, in their passage from this spot to the Bay of St. Lawrence east, to the Bay of Mexico south, to Hudson's Bay north, and to the bay at the Straits of Anian west, each of these traverse upwards of two thousand miles." The elevated part, to which Carver here alludes, is no otherwise described by him than as being near the *Shining Mountains*, "which begin at Mexico, and, continuing northward, on the back, or to the east, of California, separate the waters of those numerous rivers that fall into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California. From thence, continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South Sea, they appear to end in about 47 or 48 degrees of north latitude, where a number of rivers arise, and empty themselves either into the South Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas."

In the preceding extracts from Carver's book, embracing all that he has said respecting his Oregon, or Great River of the West, there is certainly nothing calculated to establish the identity of the stream,

to which those vague descriptions and allusions apply, with the Columbia, or with any other river. The Columbia does not rise within a few leagues, or a few hundred leagues, of the waters of the Red River, the St. Lawrence, or the Upper Mississippi, which latter Carver carefully distinguishes from the *Missouri*; nor does either of those rivers, flowing to the Atlantic, rise near the great dividing ridge of the Shining Mountains; which ridge, moreover, does not end about the 48th degree of latitude, but continues more than a thousand miles farther north-westward. If, under circumstances so different, we consider the head-waters of the Columbia to be the same described by Carver as the head-waters of the Oregon, we should, *a fortiori*, admit the mouth of the Columbia to be the same mouth of a river which Aguilar is said to have discovered in 1603.

Carver's descriptions of places, people, and things, in the Indian countries, are vague, and often contradictory; and, where they can be understood, they are, for the most part, repetitions of the accounts of those or of other parts of America, given by the old French travellers and historians, whose works he, nevertheless, takes great pains to disparage, whenever he mentions them.* In many of those works, the belief in the existence of a great river, flowing from the vicinity of the head-waters of the Mississippi, westward, to the Pacific, is distinctly affirmed, as founded on the reports of the Indians; and on nearly all maps of North America, published during the early part of the last century, may be found one or more of such streams, under the names of *River of the West*, *River of*

* In proof that no injustice is here done to Carver's memory, read his magisterial and contemptuous remarks on the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix, in the first chapter of his account of the origin, manners, &c., of the Indians; and then compare his chapters describing, as from personal observation, the ceremonies of marriage, burial, hunting, and others, of the natives of the Upper Mississippi countries, with those of Lahontan, showing the conduct of the Iroquois, of Canada, on similar occasions, by which it will be seen that *Carver has simply translated from Lahontan the whole of the accounts, even to the speeches of the chiefs*. Carver's chapter on the origin of the Indians is merely an abridgment from Charlevoix's "*Dissertation*" on the same subject. His descriptions of the language, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi regions, are entirely at variance with those of the same tribes at the present day, as clearly shown by the observations of Pike, Long, and other persons of unquestionable character, who have since visited that part of America. Keating, in his interesting narrative of Long's expedition in 1823, expresses his belief that Carver "ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may have entered it; but, had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with the language of the people, he would not have applied to them the name of *Naudoessies*, and omitted to call them the *Dacota Indians*, as they style themselves."

Aguilar, *River Thegayo*, or some other, represented on the authority of accounts received from Indians, or of erroneous or fabulous narratives of voyages along the North Pacific coasts. When we consider the many and glaring plagiarisms, from the works above mentioned, committed by Carver, we certainly have a right to suspect, if not to conclude, that he derived from the same source every thing relating to his River of the West, which he pretends to have collected from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi. As to the name *Oregon*, or the authority for its use, the traveller is silent; and nothing has been learned from any other source, though much labor has been expended in attempts to discover its meaning and derivation: it was, most probably, invented by Carver.

The most distinct and apparently authentic of these Indian accounts of great rivers flowing from the central parts of North America to the Pacific, is that recorded by the French traveller Lepage Dupratz, as received from a native of the Yazoo country, named *Moncachtabé*. The amount of this statement is — that the Indian ascended the Missouri north-westward, to its source, beyond which he found another great river, running towards the setting sun; this latter he descended to a considerable distance, though not to its termination, which he was prevented from reaching by wars among the tribes inhabiting the country on its banks; though he learned, from a woman who had been made prisoner by the tribe with which he took part, that the river entered a great water, where ships had been seen, navigated by white men with beards. All this is related, with many accompanying circumstances, tending to confirm the probability of the narrative; and there is, indeed, nothing about it which should induce us to reject it as false, except the part respecting the ships and white men, which may have been an embellishment added by *Moncachtabé*.* The course of this supposed stream is laid down on several maps of North America, published about 1750, in which it is called the *Great River of the West*; and one of these maps probably formed the basis of Carver's story.

The first actual discovery of a river in the northernmost section of America, not emptying into the Atlantic or Hudson's Bay, was made, in 1771, by Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, who also obtained the earliest exact information respecting the regions west and north-west of that bay.

* The account may be found at length in the *Mémoires sur la Louisiane*, by the Abbé le Mascrier, published at Paris in 1753, vol. ii. p. 246.

Hearne had been commissioned, by the directors of the company, to explore those regions, in order to determine, if possible, the question as to the existence of a northern passage between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific; and also, more especially, to find a rich mine of copper, which was believed, from the accounts of the Indians, to lie on the banks of a river or strait, called, in their language, "*the Far-off Metal River.*" From the general tenor of the instructions given to Hearne, it is evident that the directors were convinced of the non-existence of such a passage, and that they were merely anxious to have the fact demonstrated, in order to clear themselves from the imputation often cast upon them, of endeavoring to obstruct the progress of discovery in the regions under their control.

Agreeably to these instructions, Hearne made, between 1769 and 1772, three journeys from Fort Prince of Wales, the company's chief establishment on the western shore of Hudson's Bay, near the 60th degree of latitude, through the regions west and north-west of that place, which he examined, in various directions, to the distance of about a thousand miles. In his last journey, he discovered the *Great Slave Lake*, and other similar collections of fresh water, from which issued streams flowing northward and westward; and he traced one of these streams, which proved to be the *Far-off Metal River*, since called the *Copper Mine River*, to its termination in a sea, where the tides were observed, and the relics of whales were strowed in abundance on the shores. The mouth of this river was calculated rudely by Hearne to be situated near the 72d degree of latitude, and about 20 degrees of longitude, west of the most western known part of Hudson's Bay; and he learned from the Indians that the continent extended much farther west, and that there were high mountains in that direction. The sea into which the Copper Mine River emptied was supposed by the traveller to be "a sort of inland sea, or extensive bay, somewhat like that of Hudson;" and he assured himself, by his own observations, that the territory traversed by him, between this sea and Hudson's Bay, was not crossed by any channel connecting the two waters: whence it followed, that no vessel could sail from the Atlantic to the Pacific north of America, without proceeding beyond the mouth of the Copper Mine River. Hearne also conceived that he had proved the entire impossibility of the existence of any direct communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific; in which he, undoubtedly, assumed too much, as the northern termination of that bay had not then, nor has it to this day, been discovered.

Hearne's journals were not published until 1795, though they were submitted, immediately after his return from his last journey, to the lords commissioners of the British Admiralty, who did not fail to perceive the importance of the information contained in them. The commissioners agreed with Hearne in considering the probability of reaching the Pacific through Hudson's Bay to be destroyed; but they were, on the other hand, induced to hope that the newly-discovered sea, north of America, might be found to communicate, by navigable passages, with Baffin's Bay on the east and the Pacific on the west: and it was, in consequence, resolved, that ships should be sent, simultaneously, to explore the western side of Baffin's Bay and the north-easternmost coasts of the Arctic Sea. By an act of parliament, passed in 1745, a reward of twenty thousand pounds had been offered for the discovery of a north-west passage, *through Hudson's Bay, by ships belonging to his majesty's subjects*; and, in order further to stimulate British navigators in their exertions, a new act, in 1776, held out the same reward to the owners of any ship belonging to his majesty's subjects, or to the commander, officers, and crew, of any vessel belonging to his majesty, which should find out, and sail through, any passage by sea between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, *in any direction, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52d degree of latitude.*

Soon after the adoption of these resolutions, Captain James Cook returned to England from his second voyage of circumnavigation, in which he had completely disproved all reports of the existence of a habitable continent about the south pole; and, his offer to conduct the proposed expedition to the North Pacific having been accepted by the government, two vessels were soon prepared and placed under his command for that purpose.

In the instructions delivered to Cook, on the 6th of July, 1776, he is directed to proceed, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, New Zealand, and Otaheite, *to the coast of New Albion*, which he was to endeavor to reach, in the latitude of 45 degrees. He was "strictly enjoined, on his way thither, not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven to it by some unavoidable accident; in which case, he was to stay no longer than should be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic majesty. And if, in his

farther progress northward, he should find any subjects of any European prince or state, upon any part of the coast which he might think proper to visit, he was not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship." This latter sentence bore reference to the Russians; the application of the name of *New Albion* to the north-west coast of North America showed that the British government had no intention to resign any rights to that region, which were supposed, or pretended, to have been acquired by Drake's visit, in 1579.

On reaching New Albion, Cook was "to put into the first convenient port to obtain wood, water, and refreshments, and thence to proceed northward along the coast to the latitude of 65 degrees," where he was to begin his search for "such rivers or inlets as might appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays." Should he find a passage of that description, he was to endeavor to sail through it, with one or both of his ships, or with smaller vessels, of which the materials were to be carried out, prepared for being speedily put together; should he, however, be satisfied that there is no such passage to the above-mentioned bays, sufficient for the purposes of navigation, he was to repair to the Russian establishments in Kamtchatka, and to explore the seas north of them, "in further search of a north-east or north-west passage, from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic or the North Sea." The instruction, not to begin the examination of the American coast south of the 65th degree of latitude, was based on the proofs obtained by Hearne, that the continent extended much beyond that parallel; before reaching which, indeed, it was expected that the coast would be found turning north-eastward, in the direction of the mouth of the Copper Mine River.

The navigator was, likewise, "with the consent of the natives, to take possession, in the name of the king of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as he might discover, that had not been already discovered or visited by any other European power; and to distribute, among the inhabitants, such things as will remain as traces of his having been there: but, if he should find the countries so discovered to be *uninhabited*, he was to take possession of them for his sovereign, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors."

The preceding extracts, from the instructions given to Cook, will suffice to explain the objects and views of the British government,

with regard to the part of America bordering upon the North Pacific Ocean ; which objects and views were, in every respect, conformable with justice, with the existing treaties between Great Britain and other powers, and with the principles of national law then generally admitted in civilized countries. The part of America in question was known to Europeans only through the imperfect accounts of the Russian voyages, from which nothing certain was learned, except that islands and other territories, supposed to be extensive, had been found in the sea east of Kamtchatka. Of the discoveries of the Spaniards, the most recent respecting which any exact and authentic details had been communicated, were those made by Vizcaino, in 1603 : he, however, had not advanced so far north as the 45th degree of latitude, where Cook was to begin his observations ; and between that parallel and the 56th, the southernmost limit of the explorations of the Russians, was a vast space of sea and land, concerning which all the accounts, previously given to the world, were generally regarded as fabulous. Before Cook's departure, information had indeed reached England, of voyages, made by Spaniards, along the north-west coasts of America, during the two preceding years,* and of colonies established by them in that quarter, which may, perhaps, have rendered the British government more solicitous to have those coasts examined by its own officers : this information was, however, too vague to have afforded any light for the direction of Cook's movements ; and it has been already shown that no more satisfactory accounts of those recent Spanish voyages had been obtained in England before 1780.

With these instructions, Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, in his old ship, the *Resolution*, accompanied by another called the *Discovery*, under Captain Charles Clerke. Both vessels were provided with every instrument and other means which science or experience could suggest, for the effectual accomplishment of the great objects in view ; and that the officers and crews were also judiciously selected, the results conclusively proved. Among the lieutenants were Gore, (a native of Virginia,) King, Bligh, and Burney, who afterwards rose to eminence in their profession : of the inferior members of the body, one deserves to be named — John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who thus passed four years of his irregular and adventurous life in the humble capacity of a corporal of marines, on board the *Resolution*.

* See page 124 of this History.

From England, Cook passed around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Southern Ocean, into the Pacific; and, after spending more than a year in examinations about Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, the Society Islands, and other places in the same division of the great sea, he bent his course towards the north, in the beginning of 1778. The first fruit of his researches in the North Pacific, was the discovery, on the 18th of January, of *Atooi*, (or *Kauai*,) one of the islands of a group near the 20th degree of latitude, to which he gave the name of *Sandwich Islands*, in honor of the first lord of the Admiralty. This discovery was by no means the least important of the many effected by the great navigator; as those islands, situated nearly midway between America and Asia, possessing a delightful climate, and a fertile soil, offer invaluable facilities for the repair and refreshment of vessels traversing the vast expanse of sea which there separates the two continents, and will, no doubt, be made the basis for the exertion of a powerful influence on the destinies of North-west America.

From the Sandwich Islands, the British exploring ships took their departure for the north-west coast of America, in sight of which they arrived on the 7th of March, 1778, near the 44th degree of latitude, about two hundred miles north of Cape Mendocino. For several days afterwards, Cook was prevented from advancing northward by contrary winds, which forced him a hundred miles in the opposite course; but he was thereby enabled to see and partially examine a larger extent of coast, and to determine the longitude of that part of America, which had been left uncertain by all previous observations. The weather at length permitting, he took the desired direction, and, running rapidly northward, at some distance from the land, he was, on the 22d of the month, opposite a projecting point of the continent, a little beyond the 48th parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cape Flattery*, in token of the improvement in his prospects.

The coast south of Cape Flattery, to the 47th degree, was carefully examined by the English in search of the strait through which Juan de Fuca was said to have sailed to the Atlantic in 1592; and as, in the account of that voyage, the entrance of the strait into the Pacific is placed *between the 47th and the 48th parallels*, over which space the American coast was found to extend unbroken, Cook did not hesitate to pronounce that no such passage existed. Had he, however, also traced the coast north and east of Cape Flattery,

he would have discovered an arm of the ocean, seeming to penetrate the continent, through which he might have sailed many days, ere he could have been convinced that the old Greek pilot's account was not true in all its most essential particulars. This arm of the ocean was passed unobserved by the navigators, who, sailing north-westward, in front of its entrance, doubled a projection of the land, named, by them, *Point Breakers*, from the violence of the surf beating on it, and found immediately beyond a spacious bay, opening to the Pacific, in the latitude of $49\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. Into this bay they sailed, and anchored on its northern side, at the distance of ten miles from the sea, in a safe and commodious harbor, to which they gave the name of *Friendly Cove*.

The British vessels remained at Friendly Cove nearly all the month of April, in the course of which they were completely refitted, and supplied with wood and water, and the men were refreshed, in preparation for the arduous labors of the ensuing summer. During this period, they were surrounded by crowds of natives, who came thither from all quarters, by sea and by land, to visit and trade with the strangers, "bringing," says Cook, "skins of various animals, such as wolves, foxes, bears, deer, raccoons, polecats, martins, and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtchatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows and arrows, and spears; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden visors of many monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work, beads, and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses, and several chisels, or pieces of iron fixed to handles."

"In trafficking with us," continues the navigator, "some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return; but, in general, it was otherwise, and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and, indeed, any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value, according to their estimation of things." Cook also observed among them a "strict

notion of their having a right to the exclusive property of every thing that their country produces," which had been remarked, by Bodega and Maurelle, in the natives at Port Remedios, farther north. "At first, they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board; and, had I been upon the spot when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with them. Our workmen, in my absence, thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims; and the natives, when they found that we determined to pay nothing, ceased to apply. But they made a merit of necessity, and frequently afterward took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship."

With regard to the disposition of these people, the English commander was, on the whole, inclined to judge favorably. "They seem," he says, "to be courteous, docile, and good natured, but, notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury, and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it." Experience has, however, proved that Ledyard read their characters more correctly, when he pronounced them "bold, ferocious, sly, and reserved; not easily moved to anger, but revengeful in the extreme."

From the number of articles of iron and brass found among these people, one of whom had, moreover, two silver spoons, of Spanish manufacture, hanging around his neck by way of ornament — from their manifesting no surprise at the sight of his ships, and not being startled by the reports of his guns — and from the strong inclination to trade exhibited by them, — Cook was, at first, inclined to suppose that the place had been visited by vessels of civilized nations before his arrival. He, however, became convinced, by his inquiries and observations during his stay, that this was by no means probable; for though, as he says, "some account of a Spanish voyage to this coast in 1774 or 1775 had reached England before I sailed, it was evident that iron was too common here, was in too many hands, and the use of it was too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately, or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source, by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other

Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon the continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations: the same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them." The iron and brass, he conceived, might have been brought from Canada, or Hudson's Bay, and the silver spoons from Mexico; and he imputed the indifference of the natives, respecting the ships, "to their natural indolence of temper and want of curiosity."

On his arrival in this bay, Cook "honored it with the name of *King George's Sound*;" but he "afterwards found that it was called *Nootka*, by the natives," and it has, accordingly, ever since been known as *Nootka Sound*. No word has, however, been since found in the language of the people of this country more nearly resembling *Nootka* than *Yuquatl*, the name applied by them to Friendly Cove. The bay is situated on the south-west side of the large *Island of Vancouver and Quadra*, which was, until 1790, supposed to be a part of the American continent; and it communicates with the Pacific by two openings, the southernmost of which, the only one affording a passage for large vessels, lies under the parallel of 49 degrees 33 minutes. This southern entrance is, undoubtedly, the *Port San Lorenzo*, in which the Spanish navigator Perez lay with his ship, the *Santiago*, on the 10th of August, 1774; and from that vessel, most probably, were stolen the two silver spoons of Spanish manufacture, which Cook saw at Nootka, in the possession of one of the natives. The place possesses many advantages, which will render it important, whenever that part of America shall be occupied, as it certainly will be, by an enterprising and industrious people.

It was Cook's intention, on leaving Nootka Sound, to proceed, as speedily as possible, to the part of the coast under the 65th degree of latitude, from which he was to commence his search for a passage to the Atlantic. The violence of the wind prevented him from approaching the land for some days, and he thus, to his regret, left unseen the place, near the 53d parallel, "where geographers had placed the pretended Strait of Fonté. For my own part," he continues, "I gave no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that carry their own confutation along with them; nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute." At length, on the 1st of May, he saw the land, about the 55th parallel; and, on the following day, he passed near the beautiful conical mountain,

under the 57th, which had received from Bodega, in 1775, the name of Mount San Jacinto. This peak was called *Mount Edgecumb* by Cook, who also gave the appellation of *Bay of Islands* to the Port Remedios of the Spaniards, on its northern side.

After leaving these places, the English observed a wide opening on the east, called by them *Cross Sound*, and beyond it a very high mountain, which obtained the name of *Mount Fairweather*; and, as the latter was situated near the 59th parallel, they had then advanced farther north than the Spaniards, or any other navigators, had proceeded from the south along that coast, and were entering upon the scenes of the labors of the Russians. Accordingly, as they expected, on the 4th of the month, they beheld, rising from the shore in the north, at the distance of forty leagues, a stupendous pile of rocks and snow, which they immediately recognized as the *Mount St. Elias*, described in the accounts of Bering's voyage; and, as the coast from its base was found to "trend very much to the west, inclining hardly any thing to the north," Cook determined to commence his survey at that point, hoping soon to discover some strait, or arm of the ocean, through which he might pass around the north-western extremity of America, into the sea bathing the northern shores of the continent. Of the existence of such a passage he was assured by the Russian geographers, on whose maps the whole space between Mount St. Elias and Kamtchatka was represented as occupied by a collection of islands and channels.

With this expectation, the English advanced slowly along the coast, from the foot of Mount St. Elias, westward, to a considerable distance, and then south-westward, as far as the latitude of $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; minutely examining, in their way, every sinuosity on the shores of the ocean, and particularly those of the two great gulfs, named by them *Prince William's Sound* and *Cook's River*, which stretch northwardly into the land from the 60th parallel. They were, however, in each instance, disappointed; for the coast was found to extend continuously on their right, bordered every where by lofty, snow-capped chains of mountains along the whole line thus surveyed: and, as Cook became convinced that these territories formed part of the American continent, which thus "extended farther to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, he had reason to expect," he saw, with regret, that the probability of his finding a passage eastward into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays was materially diminished, if not entirely destroyed. He endeavored, in his course, to identify the places described in the narrative of

Bering's voyage; but this he found, almost always, impossible, though he assigned many of the names therein mentioned to spots which seemed to correspond, in some respects, with those so called by the Russians.

Whilst this survey was in progress, particularly at *Prince William's Sound*, the ships were frequently visited by the natives of the surrounding country, who appeared to be of a different race from those seen farther south. They were as thievish as the Nootkans, though apparently less ferocious and revengeful; and Cook gives several examples of their extraordinary apathy and indifference, which appears, from all subsequent accounts, to be their most remarkable characteristic. They, also, were well acquainted with the use of iron and copper, of which metals, particularly of copper, they possessed knives, or spear-heads, rudely made. Among them were likewise found many ornaments made of glass beads, which were evidently of European manufacture: yet the English could not learn that they had ever had direct intercourse with any civilized nation; and Cook very justly concluded that the Russians "had never been among them, for, if that had been the case, we should hardly have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea otter."

Proceeding south-westward from Cook's River, along the western side of the peninsula of Aliaska, the English, on the 19th of June, fell in with a group of small islands, near the 55th parallel, which appeared to correspond, in position, with the *Schumagin Islands* of Bering; and, while sailing amongst them, they obtained, from some natives, a note written on paper, in an unknown language, which they supposed to be Russian. Having reached the extremity of the land in that direction, they doubled the point, and, sailing again towards the east, they arrived, on the 27th, at a large island, which proved to be *Unalashka*, one of the Aleutian Archipelago, frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Russians as a place of resort for their traders: natives of the island only were found there; but, as its position with reference to other points in America, and to Kamtchatka, was supposed to be represented with some approach to accuracy, on the chart published at St. Petersburg, the English, after reaching it, were better able to determine their future course.

Being still anxious to discover, if possible, during that season, how far America extended to the north-west, Cook departed from Unalashka on the 2d of July, and, sailing northward along the coast,

he carefully examined all its bays and recesses, in search of a passage towards the east, until he, at length, on the 9th of August, reached a point, in the latitude of 65 degrees 46 minutes, which his observations induced him to consider as the "north-western extremity of all America." This point he named *Cape Prince of Wales*, and thence proceeding westward, across a channel only fifty miles in breadth, he arrived at another point, supposed to be that described, in the account of Bering's first voyage, as the *Tchukotskoi Noss*, which was ascertained to be the easternmost spot in Asia, and was accordingly named *East Cape*. The passage separating these capes, which the Russians had called *Bering's Strait*, was suffered to retain that appellation, in honor of the navigator who first sailed through it.

Beyond Bering's Strait, the American coast was traced by the English, north-eastward upon the Arctic Sea, to *Icy Cape*, in the latitude of 70 degrees 29 minutes, where the progress of the explorers was arrested by the ice. In like manner, the Asiatic coast was surveyed north-westward, to *Cape North*, in the latitude of 68 degrees 56 minutes, the farthestmost point to which it was then possible to advance in that direction; and, the warm season being by this time ended, Cook judged it prudent to retire to the south, deferring the continuation of his researches until the ensuing summer. He accordingly repassed Bering's Strait, and on the 8d. of October his ships were again anchored in the harbor of *Sam-agoonda*, on the north side of Unalashka.

From this place, Corporal Ledyard was despatched on an exploring trip into the interior of the island, where he at length discovered some Russian traders, who accompanied him back to the ships. The chief of these traders, named Gerassim Ismyloff, was an old and experienced seaman, who had formed one of the party under Benyowsky, in their adventurous voyage from Kamtchatka to China, in 1770, and had since been engaged in the navigation and traffic between Asia and the Aleutian Islands. He readily exhibited to Cook the few charts in his possession, and communicated what he knew respecting the geography of that part of the world as well as was possible, considering that neither of the two understood a word of the language of the other. The information thus received from Ismyloff, however, only served to show the entire inaccuracy of the ideas of the Russians with regard to America, and to convince the English navigator of the importance of his own discoveries.

Leaving *Uhalashka* on the 27th of October, the English ships continued their voyage southward to the Sandwich Islands, of which the two largest, called *Owyhee* and *Mowee*, (*Hawaii* and *Maui*,) were first discovered in the latter part of November. They passed the winter on the western side of *Owyhee*, in a harbor called *Karakooa Bay*; and there, on the 16th of February, 1779, the gallant and generous Cook was murdered by the natives, in an affray.

Captain Charles Clerke, who succeeded to the command of the expedition after this melancholy event, endeavored, in the summer of 1779, to effect a passage through the Arctic Sea to the Atlantic. With this view, he left the Sandwich Islands in March, and, on the 29th of April, reached the harbor of Petropawlowsk, in the Bay of Avatscha, the principal port of the Russians on the North Pacific, where the English were received with the utmost kindness by the officers of the government; and their ships were objects of the greatest curiosity to the people, being the first from any foreign country which had ever visited that part of the world. After some days spent in Kamtschatka, Clerke sailed for Bering's Strait, beyond which, however, he was unable to advance, in any direction, so far as in the preceding year, in consequence of the great accumulation of the ice. His health at that time being, moreover, in a very precarious state, he returned to Petropawlowsk, near which he died, on the 22d of August.

Lieutenant John Gore next assumed the direction of the enterprise: but the ships were considered, by him and the other officers, unfit, from the bad condition of their bottoms and rigging, to encounter the shocks of another season in that tempestuous quarter of the ocean; and it was, thereupon, determined that they should direct their course immediately for England. They accordingly sailed from Petropawlowsk in October, and in the beginning of December they anchored at the mouth of the River Tygris, near Canton.

With the stay of the English ships in China are connected some circumstances, which gave additional importance to the discoveries effected in their expedition.

It has already been mentioned that, during the voyage along the north-west coasts of America, the officers and seamen had obtained from the natives at Nootka, Prince William's Sound, and other places which they visited, a quantity of furs, in exchange for knives, old clothes, buttons, and other trifles. These furs were collected,

for the most part, without any reference to their value as merchandise, and were used on board ship as clothes or bedding; in consequence of which, many of them had become spoiled, and others were much injured, before the ships reached Petropawlowsk. At that place, a few skins were sold to the Russian traders, who were anxious to purchase the whole on similar terms; but the English officers, having, in the mean time, acquired information as to the high prices paid for furs in China, prevailed upon the seamen to retain those which they still possessed, until their arrival at Canton, where they were assured that a much better market would be found.

The hopes thus excited did not prove fallacious. The ships commanded by Gore were the only ones, with the exception of that under Benyowsky, in 1770, which had ever arrived at Canton directly from the coasts where furs were obtained; and no sooner was the nature of the merchandise which they brought known in the city, than all became eager to purchase those precious objects of comfort and luxury, either for their own use or upon speculation. The Chinese, according to custom, began by offering prices much below the ordinary; but the English, being on their guard, refused such terms, and, in the end, their whole stock of furs was sold for money and goods, to the amount of more than ten thousand dollars. The seamen, on witnessing these results, became, notwithstanding the previous length of their cruise, "possessed with a rage to return to the northern coasts, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, which was, at one time, not far short of mutiny:" they were, however, restrained by their officers, and, after the completion of the business at Canton, the ships sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to England, where they arrived in the beginning of October, 1780.

With regard to the novelty of the discoveries effected in this voyage, it will be seen, on comparing the course of the English ships with those taken by the Spaniards, in 1774 and 1775 — that Cook saw no part of the west coast of North America, south of Mount San Jacinto or Edgecumb, which had not been previously seen by Perez, Bodega, or Heceta; and, after passing that point, he was, as he frequently admits, aided, and in a measure guided, by the accounts of the Russian voyages. The observations of the English were, however, infinitely more minute, and more important, in their results, than those of any or all the other navigators who had pre-

ceded them in the exploration of the North Pacific: for, by determining accurately the positions of the principal points on the coasts of Asia and America, bounding that sea, they first afforded the means of ascertaining the extent of those continents, and the degree of their proximity to each other, respecting which the most erroneous ideas had prevailed; and the comparative ease and security with which they executed this task, served to dispel apprehensions with regard to expeditions through that quarter of the ocean.

NOTE.—In the “Exploration du Territoire de l’Oregon, des Californies,” &c., by M. Duflot de Mofras, published at Paris, in the summer of 1844, by order of the king, and under the auspices of Marshal Soult, the author asserts and assumes that he has proved incontestably that the Columbia River had been discovered and explored completely by French officers and traders between 1716 and 1754, and that the whole country traversed by that stream rightfully forms part of Canada. In support of the latter assertion, he cites a passage from L’Escarbot’s “Histoire de la Nouvelle France,” published in 1617, claiming, as New France, the whole American continent, and the adjacent islands north of the tropic of Cancer; and a passage from the “Voyage de la Nouvelle France,” published in 1632 by Champlain, who is content with all north of the 35th degree of latitude: and, in further confirmation, he refers to a manuscript Spanish map, drawn in Florence in 1606, to a Dutch map, drawn at Edam in 1610, and to an English map, engraved at London in 1747, all of which, it seems, represent Canada as extending to the Pacific. In proof that the French had explored the Columbia regions, M. de Mofras mentions a number of orders, preserved in the archives of the marine and colonies at Paris, from French ministers, and from governors of Canada, for the examination of the western territories—one of which, addressed, in 1730, by the governor, Beauharnois, to a trader named Verendrye, directs him “to send with his memoir a map drawn from his own observations and the indications of the Indians, and, among others, of a Kree chief, embracing the course of the River of the West, and showing that it must empty above California, near the entrance discovered by Martin de Aguiar.” “Nothing can be more clear,” adds M. de Mofras; it will, however, be observed that the Swedish naturalist Kalm, who visited Canada in 1749, was informed by Verendrye himself that “the chief intention of this expedition, viz., to come to the South Sea, and to examine its distance from Canada, was not attained.”

“In fine,” says M. de Mofras, (vol. ii. p. 254,) “the map accompanying the *Memoires des Commissaires du Roi et de ceux de sa Majesté Britannique en Amerique*, engraved in 1757, demonstrates, also, that New France extended to the Pacific Ocean. It will be seen, hereafter, that it is not surprising to find upon this map, in the 45th degree of latitude, on the north-west coast of America, a great river, the direction of which is exactly that of the River Columbia.” Now M. de Mofras could not have examined the map here cited by him when he made this assertion. The work containing it is a collection of documents presented by the commissaries of France and England, appointed, under the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, to decide certain disputed points of boundary in America. The map of America, to which M. Mofras refers, was drawn and presented by the French commissaries, as its title expressly declares, to expose the extravagant pretensions of the British to territories in America: it does not contain the words “Canada,” or “Nouvelle France,” or any other sign of French dominion; the whole division of the continent, between the 48th and the 31st parallels of latitude, being represented by strong lines and express notes, as included in the limits of the British provinces: nor does it show any large river falling into the Pacific north of the peninsula of California, nor any river entering that ocean north of the 36th degree of latitude.

CHAPTER VII.

1780 to 1789.

Commercial Results of Cook's Discoveries—Settlements of the Russians in America—Scheme of Ledyard for the Trade of the North Pacific—Voyage of La Pérouse—Direct Trade between the American Coasts and Canton commenced—Voyages of the English Fur Traders—Re-discovery of the Strait of Fuca—Voyage of Meares, who endeavors to find a great River described by the Spaniards—First Voyages from the United States to the South Pacific, and to Canton—Voyage of the Columbia and Washington, under Kendrick and Gray, from Boston to the North Pacific.

WHILST Cook was engaged in his last expedition, Great Britain became involved in wars with the United States of America, France, and Spain; and, as there was no prospect of a speedy termination of the contests at the time when the ships sent out under that commander returned to Europe, the British government considered it prudent to withhold from the world all information respecting their voyage. The regular journals of the ships, together with the private notes and memoranda of the officers and men which could be collected, were, in consequence, placed under the charge of the Board of Admiralty, and thus remained concealed until peace had been restored. Notwithstanding this care, however, many of the occurrences of the expedition became known, the importance, or the novelty, of which was such as to raise to the highest degree the curiosity of the public, not only in England, but in all other civilized countries.

The wars having been, at length, concluded, the regular journals of the expedition were published at London, in the winter of 1784–5, under the care of the learned Bishop Douglas, with a number of maps, charts, and other illustrative engravings; and it is now scarcely necessary to say, that the anticipations which had been formed as to the importance of their contents, were fully realized.

The information obtained during the voyage, respecting the abundance of animals of fine fur on the north-west coasts of America, and the high prices paid for their skins in China, became

generally diffused before the publication of the journals, and it did not fail to attract the attention of enterprising men in all maritime countries. The trade in furs had been conducted, almost wholly, by the British and the Russians, between whom, however, there had been no opportunity for competition. The Russians procured their furs chiefly in the northern parts of their own empire; and they exported to China, by land, all such as were not required for their own use. The British market was supplied entirely from Hudson's Bay and Canada; and a great portion of the skins there collected was sent to Russia, whence many of them found their way to China, though none had ever been shipped directly for the latter country. That the furs of Canada and Hudson's Bay might be sold advantageously at Canton was certain, from a comparison between the prices of those articles in London and in Canton; and it was also clear that still greater profits might be secured by means of a direct trade between China and the north-west coasts of America, where the finest furs were to be obtained more easily than in any other part of the world. There could be, nevertheless, no doubt that, after the opening of such a trade, the prices in China would fall, while the difficulties and expenses of collecting the furs in America would be increased; and it was, therefore, material that those who wished to reap the fullest harvests in this new field, should begin their labors as speedily as possible.

The Russians were the first to avail themselves of Cook's discoveries, respecting which they had derived much information during the stay of the British ships at Petropawlowsk and Unalashka. In 1781, an association was formed between Gregory Schelikof, Ivan Gollikof, and other principal fur merchants of Siberia and Kamtchatka, for the more extensive and effective conduct of their business; and three vessels, equipped by them for a long voyage of trade and exploration, sailed from Ochotsk, in August, 1783, under the command of Schelikof. In this expedition they were absent three years, in the course of which the shores of the American continent and islands, between the south-west extremity of *Alaska* and Prince William's Sound, were examined, and several colonies or factories were established, particularly on the large island of *Kuktak*, or *Kodiak*, near the entrance of the bay called *Cook's River*. Schelikof was a man of great intrepidity and perseverance, well acquainted with the business in which he was engaged, and apparently never troubled by scruples as to the morality or humanity of any measure, after he had satisfied himself of its expediency.

He and his followers are said to have exhibited the most barbarous dispositions in their treatment of the natives on the coasts, whole tribes of whom were put to death upon the slightest prospect of advantage from their destruction, and often through mere wantonness of cruelty.

In 1787, the Russians made establishments, also, on the shores of Cook's River; and, in the following year, two vessels were sent from Asia by the trading association, under Ismylof (one of the men found by Cook at Unalashka) and Betscharef, who proceeded as far east as the bay at the foot of Mount St. Elias, called *Yakutat* by the natives, and *Admiralty Bay* by the English. It seems to have also been the object of these traders to take possession of Nootka Sound, in which, however, they were anticipated, as will be shown in the ensuing chapter.

The empress Catharine had likewise become anxious to acquire glory by an expedition for discoveries in the North Pacific; but, as none of her subjects were qualified to conduct such an enterprise, she engaged for the purpose Captain Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook, as assistant astronomer, in his last voyage. Under his direction, two ships were built at Petropawlowsk; but they could not be completed before 1790, when Billings began his voyage, as will be hereafter related.

Among other nations, the first attempt to engage in the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China appears to have been made by Mr. Bolts, an eminent English merchant, residing at Trieste, who, in 1781, equipped a vessel for that purpose, to be navigated under the imperial flag of Germany; but he was obliged, from some unknown cause, to abandon the undertaking.

A similar attempt was shortly after made, with no greater success, in the United States of America. John Ledyard, who has been already mentioned as one of the crew of Cook's ship during the last voyage of that navigator, having deserted, or rather escaped, from a British frigate, in which he was serving against his countrymen, near New York, in 1782, prevailed on the celebrated merchant and financier, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, to fit out a vessel, to be employed, under his direction, in the fur trade of the North Pacific. The pecuniary embarrassments of Mr. Morris, however, obliged him to abandon the enterprise before the vessel was ready for sea; and Ledyard, finding his efforts to procure coöperation for that object unavailing in America, went to France in

1784, where he, in concert with Paul Jones, endeavored to interest the government, or private capitalists, in his scheme.

The French gave no encouragement to Ledyard's plan for prosecuting the fur trade; and no private vessels were sent from that kingdom to the North Pacific until 1791.* The government of France, however, was not unaware of the advantages which might be derived from this branch of commerce; and their great navigator, La Pérouse, on leaving his country for the Pacific, in 1785, was specially instructed to "explore the parts of the north-west coasts of America which had not been examined by Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea, in order to obtain information respecting the fur trade, and also to learn whether, in those unknown parts, some river or internal sea might not be found communicating with Hudson's Bay or Baffin's Bay."†

The multiplicity of objects, in every department of science, to which La Pérouse was required by his instructions to attend, during his voyage, prevented him from devoting more than three months to the north-west coasts of America; and, of that time, he spent one third at anchor, in a bay at the foot of Mount Fairweather, near which he first saw the coast, on the 23d of June, 1786. In this bay, called, by La Pérouse, *Port des Français*,‡ observations were made by the French in various points of science; and they traded with the natives, of whose persons, language, arts, customs, &c., minute accounts are presented in the journals of the expedi-

* After the failure of this scheme, Ledyard undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, then minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, to proceed by land to Kamtchatka, thence by sea to Nootka Sound, or some other point on the west coast of North America, and thence across the continent, to the Atlantic states of the Federal Union. With this view, permission was obtained, through the agency of the celebrated Baron de Grimm, from the empress of Russia, for Ledyard to pass through her dominions; and, thus protected, as well as aided, by the government of that empire, he advanced as far as Irkutsk, in Siberia, on his way to Ochotsk, where he proposed to embark for America. At Irkutsk, however, he was arrested, by order of the empress, on the night of the 24th of February, 1788, and was thence conveyed to the frontiers of Poland, where he was liberated, with an injunction not again to set foot in the Russian territory. The reasons for his expulsion are unknown; but it was probably occasioned by the representations of the members of the Russian American Trading Company, already mentioned, who wished to keep their proceedings secret. On the 15th of November following, Ledyard's irregular life was ended at Cairo, whither he had gone under the auspices of the African Association of London, on his way to seek for the sources of the Nile. — See the Biography of Ledyard, by Jared Sparks.

† King Louis XVI. is said to have planned the expedition of La Pérouse himself, and to have drawn up the greater part of the instructions with his own hand, before he communicated his intentions to any other person.

‡ No account of this extraordinary place has been given by any other navigator.

tion. Quitting the Port des Français on the 4th of August, they sailed towards the south, and examined the coasts between Mount San Jacinto, or Edgacumb, and Port Bucareli, as well as those discovered by the Spaniards in 1774 and 1775, between the 54th and the 52d parallels, forming the western side of Queen Charlotte's Island, the separation of which from the American continent seems to have been suspected by La Pérouse. Continuing onwards, they passed the mouth of Nootka Sound without entering it, and, on the 8th of September, they reached Monterey, where they were received with the greatest attention, agreeably to orders previously sent thither from Mexico. At Monterey, the observations were renewed, and the latitude and longitude of that part of the coast were, for the first time, accurately determined; after which, on the 24th of the month, the French ships quitted the American coast forever.

The remarks and surmises of this accomplished officer, on several points connected with the north-west coasts of America, display much sagacity and science; but his labors were rendered almost useless to the world, by the delay in the publication of his journals, which did not appear until 1797, when nearly all the places visited by him had become well known, from the descriptions of many other navigators.*

The first persons who actually engaged in the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, were British subjects, though sailing, nearly all, under the Portuguese flag.

At the time of the publication of Cook's journals, the British trade in the Pacific was divided between two great commercial corporations, each possessing peculiar privileges, secured to itself by act of parliament, to the exclusion of all other subjects of the same nation. Thus no British subjects, except those in the service, or bearing the license, of the *South Sea Company*, could make

* Sailing from Monterey, La Pérouse visited, in succession, Macao, the Philippine Islands, the coast of Tartary, Kamtchatka, the Navigators' Islands, and New Holland. After leaving the latter country, in February, 1787, nothing was heard of his ships until 1826, when information was received by the French government, in consequence of which a vessel was sent to the Pacific, and the wrecks of both vessels were discovered on the little island of Malicolo, one of the New Hebrides Archipelago, east of New Holland. From the accounts of the natives, it appeared that a number of the French landed on the island after the wreck of their ships, and built a small vessel, in which they took their departure, and were doubtless lost. The journals of the expedition, and letters received from the commander and other officers, were published at Paris in 1797, under the direction of Clairét de Fleurieu, and were immediately translated into English and other European languages.

expeditions, for trade or fishery, by way of Cape Horn or Magellan's Straits, to any part of the west coast of America, or the seas and islands within three hundred leagues of it: while no British subjects, not employed or licensed by the *East India Company*, could proceed, for either of those purposes, around the Cape of Good Hope, to any seas or lands east of that point, between it and Magellan's Straits; with the provision, however, that the privileges conferred on the East India Company should not be considered as interfering with those previously granted to the other association. All British vessels, found trading or fishing contrary to the acts by which these privileges were conferred, became liable to confiscation, and the persons directing such expeditions to heavy penalties.

Thus the East India Company could carry on the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, at the risk of a dispute with the South Sea Company, as to the extent of the interference with the privileges of the latter; while those privileges were rendered entirely useless to the South Sea Company, for the purposes of that trade, by the exclusion of its vessels from the Chinese ports, which offered the principal, if not the only, profitable market for furs. Accordingly, some of the earliest commercial expeditions of the British to the north-west coasts were made under the flag of the East India Company; while other subjects of that nation eluded the regulations of both companies, by engaging in the fur trade, under the flag of Portugal, or with licenses granted by the Portuguese authorities at Macao, near Canton.

The earliest of these expeditions appears to have been that of James Hanna, an Englishman, who sailed from Macao, in a small vessel under Portuguese colors, in April, 1785,* and arrived at Nootka Sound in August following. The natives of that country at first refused to have any dealings with him, and endeavored to seize his vessel, and murder his crew; but they were foiled in the attempt, and, after some combats between the parties, a trade was established, the result of which was, that Hanna brought back to

* The following account of the movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific, between 1785 and 1789, is derived principally from the Narrative of the Voyage of the Ship *Queen Charlotte*, by her captain, John Dixon, or rather by her supercargo, Beresford—the Narrative of the Voyage of the Ship *King George*, by her captain, Nathaniel Portlock—the Narrative of the Voyages of Captain John Meares, to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Probability of a Northern Passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and the memorial and documents in proof, presented by Captain Meares to the British parliament in May, 1790. Many notable differences will be shown to exist between the statements of Meares in his *narrative* and his *memorial*.

China, before the end of the year, furs worth more than twenty thousand dollars, in return for the old clothes, iron, and trifles, which he had carried out in the spring.

In 1786, Hanna made another voyage to the coasts; but he had then to compete with traders from Bengal and England, in consequence of which his profits were much less than in the preceding voyage. In the same year, also, an attempt was made to establish a direct trade between Macao and Kamtchatka, to be carried on under the Portuguese flag. With this view, Captain Peters was sent in the brig *Lark* to Petropawlowsk, where he made arrangements with Schelikof, the head of the American Trading Company, to supply them regularly with European and Chinese goods, taking furs in return; but the *Lark* was lost, with nearly all on board, on Copper Island, one of the westernmost of the Aleutian Archipelago, in her voyage back to China, and no attempt for the same purpose was afterwards made.

Voyages were, about the same time, made to the North Pacific, in search of furs, by Captains Lowrie and Guise, in two small vessels from Bombay, and by Captains Meares and Tipping, in two others from Calcutta, all under the flag of the East India Company. Lowrie and Guise went to Nootka Sound, and thence northward, along the coasts, to Prince William's Sound, from which they proceeded to Macao. Meares and Tipping sailed to the Aleutian Islands, and thence to Prince William's Sound, after leaving which nothing was ever heard of Tipping or his vessel: Meares spent the winter of 1786-7 in that sound, where more than half of his crew died from want or scurvy.

In the above-mentioned voyages, nothing of importance was learned respecting the geography of North-west America. In order to convey a clear idea of the extent and value of the discoveries effected by the fur traders in the three years next ensuing, it should be premised that, in the beginning of that period, the coast of the American continent was supposed, according to the best accounts and charts, to run in a regular, and almost unbroken, line north-westward, from Cape Mendocino, near the 40th degree of latitude, to Mount St. Elias, near the 60th; the innumerable islands which are now known to extend in chains between the continent and the open Pacific Ocean, from the 48th degree to the 58th, being regarded as the main land of North America. The western sides of the most western of these islands had been examined, though imperfectly, in their whole length, by the Spaniards, in 1774 and

1775: Cook had, in 1778, seen the portions about Nootka Sound and Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, leaving unexplored the intermediate shores, which were represented — as expressed on the charts attached to his journal — according to the accounts of the Spanish navigators; and those coasts had also been seen by La Pérouse, who seems to have been the first to suspect their separation from the continent, though he took no measures to ascertain the fact, by penetrating any of the numerous openings which he observed when passing them in 1786. The coasts south of Nootka Sound, to Cape Mendocino, were not visited by the people of any civilized nation between the period of Cook's voyage and 1787; and the best charts of them were those of the Spaniards, founded on the observations of Heceta and Bodega. The parts respecting which the most accurate information had been obtained were those westward from Mount St. Elias, to the Aleutian Islands: that division of the coast was, indeed, so thoroughly examined by Cook, in 1778, that very little was left for subsequent navigators, except to verify his statements and conclusions.

The principal places of resort for the fur traders on the American coasts were, Nootka or King George's Sound, — Norfolk Sound, the Port Guadalupe of the Spaniards, near their Mount San Jacinto, — Prince William's Sound, and Cook's River. The two last-mentioned places, having been, in 1788, occupied by the Russians, under Schelikof, were seldom visited afterwards by the vessels of other nations; and, as the country about Nootka was well supplied with wood fit for ship-building, and had a more agreeable climate than could be found farther north, it was generally selected as the point of destination, rendezvous, and departure, by the traders. The people there, as already mentioned, exhibited, at first, great opposition to the foreigners; but they soon acquired a taste for knives, blankets, and other such articles of luxury or use, to gratify which they were ready not only to traffic, but even to engage in labor with some show of assiduity. Their king was named Maquinna: his relations, Wicanish and Tatoochseaticus, ruled over the tribes farther south-westward, inhabiting the shores of two large bays, called *Clyoquot* and *Nittinat*. Maquinna, whose name will frequently appear in the following pages, possessed in a high degree the cunning, ferocity, and vindictiveness, characteristic of his race; for, though he occasionally exhibited evidences of better qualities, yet, like the other chiefs, he seldom lost an opportunity for the

commission of an act of blood or perfidy, in gratification of his desires for revenge or profit.

The importance of the Sandwich Islands to the commerce of the whole North Pacific was also soon made apparent; and they became, in a few years, the favorite places of refreshment of all vessels navigating between Cape Horn and the north-west coasts of America, and between those coasts and China. Their soil is fertile, their climate delightful, and their productions are precisely those most useful to vessels engaged in long voyages. Their inhabitants, though naturally indolent, false, and treacherous, are not positively ferocious; and they are endowed with much cunning and mechanical aptitude, which led them quickly to perceive the immediate benefits to be derived from an intercourse with strangers, and to submit to restraints, in order to secure such advantages. At the time of their discovery, the islands were governed by separate chiefs: in the course of the ensuing fifteen years, however, they all fell under the authority of one man, *Mahe-Mahe*, or *Tamahamaha*, who, by the possession of extraordinary acuteness and sagacity, combined with courage and steadiness of purpose, overcame all his rivals, and kept up something like a regular government until his death. The most formidable opponent of Tamahamaha was Tianna, a resolute and ferocious chief, who accompanied Meares to Canton in 1787, and there acquired many new ideas, which gave him, for some time, considerable advantages; but he was, in the end, defeated and slain by his rival.

The first discoveries, worthy of note, made on the north-west coasts of America, after Cook's voyage, were those of Captains Portlock and Dixon, who were sent from London, in 1785, in command of the ships *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*, by a mercantile association, styled the *King George's Sound Company*. The object of this association was to monopolize the direct trade between the North Pacific coasts and China, with which view its operations were to be conducted in the following manner:—Under the protection of licenses, granted by the South Sea Company, its vessels were to proceed, by way of Cape Horn, to the north-west coasts of America, laden with goods, which were there to be bartered for furs; the furs were to be carried to Canton, and there sold by the agents of the East India Company, agreeably to a contract with that body; and the produce of their sale was to be vested in teas, and other Chinese commodities, which were to be

brought by the ships, around the Cape of Good Hope, to England. Portlock and Dixon were both intelligent men, well acquainted with the theory and practice of navigation, and their ships were well provided with instruments for ascertaining geographical positions; the narratives published by them, after their return to England, though tedious to the general reader, from the minuteness of the details of trifling or personal matters, and not always strictly true, are, nevertheless, valuable, as showing the history of the fur trade in the North Pacific, and of the discovery of the American coasts of that ocean, between the time of Cook's expedition and the year 1788.

Portlock and Dixon left England together in August, 1785, and, passing around Cape Horn, and through the group of the Sandwich Islands, they reached Cook's River in July, 1786. There they met some Russians, though no establishment had been then formed by that nation east of the Island of Kodiak; and, after a short stay, they proceeded to Nootka Sound, where they expected to spend the winter. They were, however, unable to enter that bay, or any other place on the American coast, in consequence of the violence of the winds, and were obliged to return to the Sandwich Islands, where they remained, very uncomfortably, until the spring of 1787: they then again went to the coasts about Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, in the latter of which places they found Captain Meares, with his vessel frozen up, more than half of his crew dead, and the remainder suffering dreadfully from scurvy, as already mentioned. The manner in which Meares was treated by his countrymen on this occasion, has been represented by him, in the narrative of his voyages, in a manner very different from that in which it appears on the pages of Portlock and Dixon; the latter asserting that they rendered him every assistance in their power, while he, on the other hand, declares that their conduct towards him was selfish and inhuman in the extreme.

At Prince William's Sound Dixon left Portlock, and proceeded along the coast, eastward, to the inlet on the south side of Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, called *Port Remedios* by Bodega, but to which he thought proper to give the name of *Norfolk Sound*. He "had, indeed, heard that the Spaniards anchored very near this place in 1775;" but this account, "he was afraid, was not absolutely to be depended on," although Maurelle's journal, containing accurate descriptions of that part of the coast, had been published in English, at London, in 1781. In like manner, Dixon claimed the

discovery of the land farther south, between the 54th and the 52d degrees of latitude, on the ground that it had not been seen by Cook, though it is specially marked on the chart of that navigator, as found by the Spaniards in 1775 ; and, having become convinced, from the reports of the natives, that this land was separated from the American continent by water, he bestowed on it the name of *Queen Charlotte's Island*, and on the passage immediately north of it, that of *Dixon's Entrance*. From this part of the coast Dixon proceeded to Nootka, and thence, by the Sandwich Islands, to Canton, where he rejoined Portlock, who had passed the whole of the trading season on the coast, between Prince William's Sound and Mount St. Elias.

In China, Portlock and Dixon found the price of furs much reduced, from the great quantities of those articles which had entered the country during the season ; so great, indeed, was the fall in their value, that, according to La Pérouse, they were higher at Petropawlofsk than at Canton during the whole of 1787. From this circumstance, and also from the alleged unfairness of the East India Company's agents towards them, in the sale of their cargoes, the profits of the voyage of the King George and the Queen Charlotte, from the teas and silks which they carried to England, were not sufficient to cover the expenses of their expedition.

Before Portlock and Dixon quitted the north-west coasts of America, in 1787, they met two other vessels, the *Princess Royal*, commanded by Captain Duncan, and the *Prince of Wales*, under Captain Colnett, which had been also sent, by the King George's Sound Company, to prosecute the fur trade in the North Pacific. Duncan, in the following year, ascertained the separation of Queen Charlotte's Island from the main land, which had been assumed by Dixon, and, before him, by La Pérouse ; he also explored the sea between that island and the continent, in which he discovered a group of small islands, named by him the *Princess Royal's Archipelago* ; and thence he ran down the coast, by Nootka Sound and Cape Flattery, to the 47th degree of latitude, from which he took his departure for the Sandwich Islands and China.

The discovery of these islands, and of numerous openings in the coast, which appeared to be the mouths of channels, from that part of the Pacific, extending far eastward into the land, led to the suspicion that *the whole north-western division of America might be a vast collection of islands* ; and the old story of Admiral Fonté's voyage began to gain credit. The islands and reputed islands in

question were supposed to be the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, through which the admiral was said to have sailed two hundred and sixty leagues before reaching the continent; and the commanders of exploring vessels, sent from Europe and America to the North Pacific, for some years after, were generally directed to seek, near the 53d parallel, for the mouth of the river which he was reported to have ascended, into a lake communicating with the Atlantic.

The name of the old Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, was also, about the same time, rescued from oblivion, by the discovery, or rediscovery, of a "broad arm of the sea," stretching eastwardly from the Pacific, almost exactly in the position of the southern entrance of the strait, through which he declared that he had sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 1592. This discovery was effected in 1787 by Captain Berkeley, an Englishman commanding a ship called the *Imperial Eagle*, which had sailed from Ostend in the preceding year, under the flag of the Austrian East India Company. The passage thus found was situated immediately north of Cape Flattery, to the coast south of which point Cook had confined his search for it in 1778; and it opened to the ocean between the 48th and 49th parallels, instead of between the 47th and 48th, as stated in the account of the voyage of Fuca. Berkeley did not attempt to explore the passage, but, sailing along the coast south of Cape Flattery, which had not been seen by the people of any civilized nation since Cook's voyage, he sent a boat ashore with some men, who were murdered by the savages, in the same manner, and almost at the same spot, where the Spaniards of Bodega's crew were massacred in 1775. In commemoration of this melancholy event, the name of *Destruction Island* was given to the small point of land near the continent, in the latitude of 47 degrees 35 minutes, which had, for the like reason, been called by the Spaniards *Isla de Dolores*. Berkeley, on his arrival at Canton, in November following, communicated the account of his rediscovery of the Strait of Fuca to Meares, as expressly stated by the latter, in the Dissertation prefixed to the narrative of his voyages in the Pacific, published in 1790; though, in the narrative itself, Meares unequivocally claims as his own the whole merit of finding the passage.

At the time when Berkeley made this communication, Meares was engaged in preparations for a trading expedition to the north-west coasts of America, of which a particular notice will be here presented; as the circumstances connected with it led to the first

dispute, and the first treaty, between civilized nations, relative to that part of the world.

For the expedition in question, two vessels were fitted out at the Portuguese port of Macao, near Canton, in China, from which, as already mentioned, several voyages had been previously made to the north-west coasts of America, in search of furs. They were both placed under the direction of John Meares, a lieutenant in the British navy, on half pay, who sailed in the ship *Felice* as supercargo; the other vessel, the brig *Iphigenia*, also carried a British subject, William Douglas, in the same capacity: both vessels were, however, commanded, ostensibly at least, by Portuguese captains; they were both furnished with passports, and other papers, in the Portuguese language, granted by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and showing them to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of that place; the instructions for the conduct of the voyage were written only in the Portuguese language,* and contained nothing whatsoever calculated to afford the slightest grounds for suspicion that other than Portuguese subjects were interested in the enterprise; finally, the vessels sailed from Macao on the 1st of January, 1788, under the Portuguese flag, and there is no sufficient proof that any other was displayed by them during the expedition.

Notwithstanding these evidences of ownership and national character, which appear to be complete and unequivocal, Mr. Meares, in the *Memorial*† addressed by him to the British government, in May, 1790, asserts that the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*, as well as their cargoes, were actually and *bona fide* British property, employed in the service of British subjects only; that Cavallo had no concern nor interest in them, his name being merely used, with his consent, for the purpose of obtaining from the governor of Macao, who

* See the Journal of Douglas, the captain or supercargo of the *Iphigenia*, attached to the *Memorial* of Meares, and the quotation from it in the ensuing chapter, at page 192.

† The London Annual Register for 1790 contains what purports to be the *Substance of the Memorial of Lieutenant Meares, &c.*, drawn up by Meares himself, or some one in his interests. In this *Substance*, the word *Portuguese* does not occur, nor is any thing mentioned relative to the apparent character of the vessels, which are, on the contrary, directly asserted to have been British in all respects, and navigated under the British flag. Meares's explanations, in his *Memorial*, relative to the arrangements with Cavallo, are all omitted, the following short paragraph being inserted in their place:—"Here Mr. Meares, by way of illustration, introduces a transaction no otherwise connected with his narrative, but as it proves the merchandise, &c., of which the British ships were plundered, to have been British property."!!! Such are the materials from which histories are generally composed.

connived at the whole deception, permission to navigate under the Portuguese flag, and thereby to evade the excessive port charges demanded, by the Chinese authorities, from vessels of all other European nations; and that Messrs. Meares and Douglas were really the commanders of the vessels in which they respectively sailed, instead of the Portuguese subjects, who figure as such in all the papers. Some of these assertions may have been true; yet the *documents* annexed to the Memorial conclusively prove that all these deceptive appearances were kept up at Nootka Sound, where there were no Chinese authorities; though, in the *narrative of the voyage*, published by Mr. Meares, with the Memorial and documents, no hint is given that either of the vessels were, or ever seemed to be, other than British.

The instructions, of which an English copy or version — dated *China, December 24th, 1787*, and signed *The Merchant Proprietors* — is appended to the Memorial, contain general directions for the conduct of the voyage, but *no allusion whatsoever to the acquisition of lands, the erection of buildings, or the formation of settlements or establishments of any kind, in America or elsewhere*. The *Felice* was to go to Nootka Sound, from which she was to make trips northward and southward, for the purposes of trade and exploration; the *Iphigenia* was to sail first to Cook's River, and thence to trade along the coasts, southward, to Nootka, where she was expected to arrive in September: all the furs collected were then to be placed in one of the vessels, and brought to Macao, the other vessel remaining, until the spring, either on the American coast or at the Sandwich Islands. These instructions conclude with the following remarkable order to the commanders of the vessels: — "Should you, in the course of your voyage, meet with any Russian, English, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship, and allow them, if authorized, to examine your papers; but you must, at the same time, guard against surprise. Should they attempt to seize you, or even to carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will, on your arrival in the first port, protest, before a proper officer, against such illegal procedure, and ascertain, as nearly as you can, the value of your vessel and cargo, sending your protest, with a full account of the transaction, to us at China. Should you, in such a conflict, have the superiority, you will take possession of the vessel that attacked you, and bring both, with the

officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and the crews punished as pirates."

The latter part of these instructions, independently of numerous other circumstances connected with the expedition, is sufficient, alone, to show that the owners of the *Felice* and *Iphigenia* meant to represent them as Portuguese vessels. As British vessels, they could not legally navigate the North Pacific Ocean, being unprovided with licenses or authority from the South Sea or the East India Company: if found so doing, they would be subject to seizure, and their officers and crew to punishment; and it was, doubtless, in order to evade such penalties, to which they might have been subjected by coming in contact with the vessels of the King George's Sound Company, that their commanders were directed to take, and bring to a Portuguese port, for trial before Portuguese courts, any *English* vessels which should attempt to arrest them in their voyages.

From Macao the *Iphigenia* went to Cook's River, at which place, and others farther south-east, she passed the summer in trading. The *Felice* sailed direct to Nootka Sound, where her crew immediately began the construction of a small vessel, on the shore of Friendly Cove, near which was situated the village of Maquinna, the king of the surrounding country. Meares, being desirous, whilst this work was in progress, to take a voyage along the coast to the south, made arrangements with Maquinna, who, as related in the narrative of the expedition, "most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon an house might be built, for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave behind, and also promised us his assistance and protection for the party who were destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for this kindness, and to insure the continuance of it, the chief was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival. Upon this spot a house, sufficiently capacious to contain all the party intended to be left at the sound, was erected; a strong breastwork was thrown up around it, enclosing a considerable area of ground, which, with one piece of cannon, placed in such a manner as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion."

That this spot of ground was granted by Maquinna, and was to be occupied by Meares, *only for temporary purposes*, is clear from

the above statement ; and Meares nowhere in his *narrative* pretends that he acquired permanent possession of it, or of any other land in America. On the contrary, he expressly says that, "as a bribe to secure Maquinna's attachment, he was promised that, when we finally left the coast, he should enter into full possession of the house, and all the goods thereunto belonging." In the *Memorial* addressed to his government, however, Meares declares that, "immediately on his arrival at Nootka Sound, he purchased from Maquinna, the chief of the district surrounding that place, a spot of ground, whereon he built an house, for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade among the natives, and hoisted British colors thereon." Of this asserted purchase of land and erection of buildings at Nootka, no evidence or mention whatsoever is to be found among the documents submitted with the Memorial to the British ministry, except in the deposition of William Graham, of Grub Street, a seaman of the *Felice*, taken in London after the date of the Memorial.

Having completed these arrangements, Meares sailed from Nootka in the *Felice*, leaving a part of his crew employed in building the small vessel, and proceeded to the entrance of the passage supposed to be the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which, as he expressly states in the Dissertation prefixed to his narrative, had been discovered in the preceding year by Berkeley. The following extract from his narrative will serve still further to show what value is to be placed on his testimony in matters in which his own reputation or interests are involved : —

"June 29th. At noon the latitude was 48 degrees 39 minutes north, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing east-south-east, distant about six leagues. We endeavored to keep up with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety, as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we knew no other navigator, said to have been this way, except *Maurelle* ; and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he had either never seen this part of the coast, or that he had purposely misrepresented it. By three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the mast head, it was observed to stretch to the east by the north, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen, in this direction, as far as the eye

could reach. The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, John de Fuca."

To examine the passage, — of which he thus claims the discovery, after having distinctly assigned the merit of it to another, — Meares sent his mate, Duffin, with a party of men, in a boat. In a few days the boat returned, with several of her crew disabled by wounds received in a conflict with the natives on the northern shore. "She had sailed," writes Meares, "near thirty leagues up the strait; and, at that distance from the sea, it was fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east for fifteen leagues more." Yet, from Duffin's journal, which is given entire in Mr. Meares's work, it seems that the boat did not advance ten miles within the strait; and we now know that the width of the passage nowhere, within thirty leagues of its mouth, exceeds five leagues.

From the entrance of this passage, which has ever since been distinguished by the name of *Strait of Fuca*, Meares sailed along the shore of the continent, towards the south. His object was to examine the opening in the coast, laid down on Spanish charts in his possession, near the 46th degree of latitude, under the name *Rio de San Roque*, or *River of Saint Roc*, which had been first observed by Heceta, on the 16th of August, 1775, as mentioned in the account of that voyage.* Proceeding in this course, he, on the 5th of July, remarked a headland, in the latitude of 46 degrees 47 minutes, which he named *Cape Shoalwater*; on the following day, he writes in his journal, —

"At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoalwater, we had a perfect view of it; and, with the glasses, we traced the line of coast to the southward, which presented no opening that promised any thing like an harbor. An high, bluff promontory bore off us south-east, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half past eleven, we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and

the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat, level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right ahead, and, from the mast head, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of *Cape Disappointment* was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of *Deception Bay*. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes north, and in the computed longitude of 235 degrees 34 minutes east.

"We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of *St. Roc* exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts. To those of *Maurelle* we made continual reference, but without deriving any information or assistance from them. We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and, being almost certain that there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore." This distant headland, in the latitude of 45 degrees 37 minutes, named by Meares *Cape Lookout*, and probably the same called by the Spaniards *Cape Falcon*, was the southernmost point seen by him; thence he returned to the Strait of *Fuca*, without again observing the land, having, as he conceived, "traced every part of the coast, which unfavorable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching."

The language of Mr. Meares in the preceding extracts, though somewhat ungrammatical, is yet clear and explicit. He records with satisfaction his conviction, founded on his own observations, that "*no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts*;" in token of which conviction, he assigns the names of *Deception Bay* and *Cape Disappointment* to the places on the American coast, near the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the mouth of the river should have been found, according to the Spanish charts. Yet, strange though it may appear, the commissioners, appointed by the British government, in 1826, to treat

with the plenipotentiary of the United States at London, on the subject of the claims of the respective parties to territories on the north-west side of America, insisted that Meares, on this occasion, *discovered the great River Columbia*, which actually enters the Pacific at Deception Bay, and *cited, in proof of their assertion, the very parts of his narrative above extracted.**

On his way back to Nootka, Meares visited the two large bays, called by the natives *Clyoquot* and *Nittinat*, and by himself *Port Cox* and *Port Effingham*, situated a little north-west of the entrance of Fuca's Strait, where, he declares in his Memorial to Parliament, "he obtained from Wicanish, the chief of the surrounding districts, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, as also permission to build any storehouses or other edifices which he might judge necessary; and he also acquired the same privileges of exclusive trade from Tatooche, the chief of the country bordering upon the Strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which one of his officers took possession of, in the king's name, calling the same Tatooche, in honor of the chief." These purchases and cessions of territory are not, however, in any manner noticed, either in the documents annexed to the Memorial, or in the narrative of the voyage, which is most tediously minute as to the circumstances of Mr. Meares's interviews with those chiefs.

At the end of July, Meares returned to Nootka Sound, where the *Iphigenia* soon after arrived from the northern coasts, laden with furs. The small vessel, which had been begun at Friendly Cove, was then launched, and received the name of the *North-West America*; and Meares, considering the season as not too far advanced for a voyage across the Pacific, transferred to the *Felice* all the furs which had been collected, and sailed in her, on the 28th of September, for China, leaving directions that the *Iphigenia* and the *North-West America* should proceed to the Sandwich Islands for the winter, and return in the following spring to Nootka, where he would rejoin them.

Before the departure of Meares from Nootka, two other vessels entered the sound, whose voyages merit particular attention.

Immediately after the recognition of the independence of the United States of America, the citizens of that republic resumed the

* See British statement, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, letter H.

whale and seal fishery around Cape Horn, which they had carried on before the revolution, and also engaged in the direct trade with India and China. In the latter countries, however, they labored under great disadvantages, from the inferiority in value of the articles carried thither to those brought back by them, in consequence of which they were obliged to take out large quantities of specie, in order to obtain full homeward cargoes. With the view of obviating this inequality, some merchants of Boston, in 1787, formed an association for the purpose of combining the fur trade of the North Pacific with the China trade, as attempted by the King George's Sound Company of London; and in such an enterprise they certainly had reason to anticipate success, as, with industry and nautical skill unsurpassed by any other nation, the Americans were free from the restrictions imposed on British subjects by the charters of the South Sea and East India Companies.*

In prosecution of this scheme, the ship *Columbia*, of two hundred and twenty tons, and the sloop *Washington*, of ninety tons, were fitted out at Boston in the summer of 1787, and laden with blankets, knives, iron bars, copper pans, and other articles proper for the trade with the Indians on the north-west coasts. The *Columbia* was commanded by John Kendrick, to whom was intrusted the

* The first American citizens who engaged in the whaling and sealing business around Cape Horn, after the peace of 1783, were the Nantucket men, as will be hereafter more particularly stated.

The first American vessel which entered the port of Canton was the ship *Empress of China*, from New York, commanded by Daniel Parker, with Samuel Shaw as supercargo: she arrived in China in the latter part of the summer of 1784, and returned to New York in May of the following year. Mr. Shaw was appointed consul of the United States at Canton in January, 1796; and, on the 31st of December of the same year, he addressed to his government, from Canton, an interesting memoir on the state of commerce at that place, which still remains, with many other communications from him, unpublished, in the archives of the Department of State at Washington. In 1787, not less than five American vessels were employed in the trade with China; among them were the *Canton*, under Captain Thomas Truxton, who afterwards distinguished himself in the naval service of his country, and the old frigate *Alliance*, so celebrated during the war of the revolution, which had been sold by order of Congress, and fitted out as a trading vessel, under the command of John Reed. The *Alliance* entered Canton on the 20th of December, 1787; and her arrival at that season caused much astonishment, as it had been previously considered impossible for a vessel to sail from the Cape of Good Hope to China between October and April, on account of the violence of the winds, blowing constantly, during that period, from the north-east. Reed, however, had steered eastward from the Cape of Good Hope, to the southern extremity of Van Dieman's Land, around the east coasts of which island, and of New Holland, he sailed into the China Sea; and the course thus pointed out by him has been since often taken, especially by American vessels.

direction of the expedition; and her mate was Joseph Ingraham, whose name will often appear in the following pages. The master of the Washington was Robert Gray. They were provided with sea letters issued by the federal government, agreeably to a resolution of Congress, and with passports from the state of Massachusetts; and they received letters from the Spanish minister plenipotentiary in the United States, recommending them to the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific coasts. They, moreover, carried out, for distribution at such places as they might visit, a number of small copper coins, then recently issued by the state of Massachusetts,* and likewise medals of copper, struck expressly for the purpose, of one of which a representation is here given.



The two vessels sailed together from Boston on the 30th of September, 1787: thence they proceeded to the Cape Verd Islands, and thence to the Falkland Islands, in each of which places they procured refreshments; and, in January, 1788, they doubled Cape Horn, immediately after which they were separated during a violent gale. The Washington, continuing her course through the Pacific, made the north-west coast in August, 1788, near the 46th degree of latitude, where she was in danger of destruction, having grounded while attempting to enter an opening, which was, most probably, the mouth of the great river afterwards named by Gray the Columbia. She was also attacked there by the savages, who killed one of her men, and wounded the mate; but she escaped without further injury, and, on the 17th of September, reached Nootka

* Alexander Mackenzie, in July, 1793, found, in the possession of a native of the country east of the Strait of Fuca, a "halfpenny of the state of Massachusetts Bay, coined in 1787," which was doubtless one of those taken out by Kendrick and Gray.

Sound, where the Felice and Iphigenia were lying, as already mentioned.* The Columbia did not enter the sound until some days afterwards. She had been seriously injured in the storm which separated her from her consort; and Kendrick was obliged, in consequence, to put into the harbor of the Island of Juan Fernandez, where he was received with great kindness, and aided in refitting his vessel, by Don Blas Gonzales, the commandant of the Spanish garrison. The repairs having been completed, the Columbia continued her voyage, and arrived at Nootka, which had been selected as the place of rendezvous, without further accident, in October.

Soon after the arrival of the Columbia at Nootka, the Iphigenia and North-West America took their departure for the Sandwich Islands, where they remained until the spring of 1789. The two American vessels spent the winter in the sound, where the Columbia also lay during the whole of the following summer, whilst the important events related in the next chapter were in progress.]

* Meares, in his narrative, gives the following account of the arrival of the Washington at Nootka Sound:—

"September 17th, 1788.—A sail was seen in the offing. The long-boat was immediately sent to her assistance, which, instead of the British vessel we expected, conveyed into the sound a sloop named the Washington, from Boston, in New England, of about one hundred tons' burthen. Mr. Gray, the master, informed us that he had sailed, in company with his consort, the Columbia, a ship of three hundred tons, in the month of August, 1787, being equipped, under the patronage of Congress, to examine the coast of America, and to open a fur trade between New England and this part of the American continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships, to enable them to return home teas and China goods. The vessels were separated in a heavy gale of wind, in the latitude of 59 south, and had not seen each other since the period of their separation; but, as King George's Sound was the place of rendezvous appointed for them, the Columbia, if she was safe, was every day expected to join her consort at Nootka. Mr. Gray informed me that he had put into an harbor on the coast of New Albion, where he got on shore, and was in danger of being lost on the bar; he was also attacked by the natives, had one man killed, and one of his officers wounded, and thought himself fortunate in having been able to make his escape. This harbor could only admit vessels of small size, and must lie somewhere near the cape to which we had given the name of Cape Lookout."

That this harbor was the mouth of the great river since called the Columbia, is most probable from its situation, and because there is no evidence or reason to suppose that Gray visited that part of the coast on any other occasion prior to his meeting with Vancouver, on the 29th of April, 1792, as will be related in the eleventh chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

1788 AND 1789.

Uneasiness of the Spanish Government at the Proceedings of the Fur Traders in the North Pacific — Voyage of Observation by Martinez and Haro to the Russian American Settlements — Remonstrances of the Court of Madrid to that of St. Petersburg, against the alleged Encroachments of the latter Power — Martinez and Haro sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to take Possession of Nootka Sound — Seizure of British and other Vessels at Nootka by Martinez — Captain Gray, in the *Washington*, explores the East Coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, and enters the Strait of Fuca — Return of the *Columbia* to the United States.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, presented a sketch of the geographical discoveries effected on the north-west coasts of America, in the interval between the time of Cook's last voyage and the year 1790, we now proceed to relate the important events of a political nature, which occurred on those coasts during the latter part of the same period. These events have been variously represented — or rather misrepresented — by the historians to whom reference is usually made for information respecting them ; * and ample proofs will be here offered, that the most essential circumstances have been exhibited in false forms, and under false colors, either designedly, or from indifference and want of research on the part of the authors.

The movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific were, from the beginning, regarded with dissatisfaction and mistrust by the court of Madrid. It was at first proposed to counteract them by monopolizing that branch of commerce ; for which object an agent was despatched to California, in 1786, with orders to collect all the

* Namely, the histories of England, by Bissett, Miller, Belsham, (in which latter the accounts are more fair and more nearly correct than in any other,) Hughes, Wade, and the Pictorial History of England — Schoell's *Histoire des Traités de Paix* — Brenton's *Naval History of Great Britain*, last edition — Introduction to the *Journal of Galiano and Valdes* — *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, by T. D. Cooley — Gifford's *Life of William Pitt*, &c. In the most recent of these works, namely, the *Pictorial History of England*, the account is farthest from the truth ; the author has evidently not consulted any original evidence on the subject, except, possibly, the *Memorial of Meares*, or the abstract of that paper in the *Annual Register*.

sea otter skins* obtainable there, and carry them for sale to Canton : but the enterprise proved unsuccessful, as the agent could only obtain a small number of furs, of inferior quality, the produce of the sale of which in China did not cover the expenses of their transportation.

Considerable uneasiness was also created at Madrid, by the endeavors of the British government to advance the whale and seal fishery in the seas surrounding the southern extremity of America. A number of experienced whalers, especially from Nantucket, had been induced, immediately after the peace of 1783, to engage in this business, under the British flag; and high premiums were offered by act of Parliament, in 1786, to encourage perseverance in the pursuit. As British vessels and subjects would thus necessarily frequent the unoccupied coasts of Patagonia and the adjacent islands, it was apprehended, by the Spanish government, that establishments might be formed in those regions, for their protection; the natural consequence of which would be, the introduction of foreign merchandise, and of opinions contrary to the interests of Spain, into the contiguous provinces. In order to provide against these evils, the Spaniards increased their garrison at Port Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, as well as their naval force in that quarter; and an attempt was made, under the patronage of their government, to organize a company for the whale and seal fishery in the Southern Ocean, which proved entirely abortive.

It was from Russia, however, that the Spanish government anticipated the greatest danger to its dominions on the Pacific side of America. Of the commerce and establishments of that nation on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific, enough had been learned from the narrative of Cook's expedition, and other works then recently published, to show their advancement, and the enterprise of those by whom they were conducted, as well as the determination of the Russian government to maintain and encourage them; and La Pérouse, during the stay of his ships at Conception, in Chili, in 1786, promised, at the particular request of the captain-general, to communicate confidentially to the viceroy of Mexico the results of the observations on those subjects which he might make in Kamtchatka and the islands and coasts of America adjacent. La Pérouse, however, did not return to America after his visit to Kamtchatka, nor was any information on the points in question received from him by the Spanish authorities; and the viceroy of Mexico,

* La Pérouse — Portlock.

having waited in vain for the promised intelligence until the end of 1787, resolved to despatch vessels to the North Pacific, in order to ascertain the truth with regard to the trade and settlements of the Russians and other foreign nations on the coasts of that division of the ocean.

Before relating the particulars of the expedition made for that purpose, a circumstance may be mentioned, which serves to show the state of feeling of the Spanish government at the period in question, with regard to the proceedings of foreigners in the Pacific, and the extent of the measures which it was ready to adopt in order to exclude them from that ocean. It has been said, in the preceding chapter, that the ship *Columbia* having received some damage on her way from Boston to the north-west coast of America, in May, 1788, entered a harbor in the Island of Juan Fernandez, where assistance was afforded in refitting her by the Spanish commandant Don Blas Gonzales and his garrison. After her departure, the commandant communicated the circumstances, by a despatch, to his immediate superior, the captain-general of Chili, who thereupon recalled Gonzales from the island, and placed him in arrest, addressing, at the same time, a report on the subject, with a request for instructions, to the viceroy of Peru. The viceroy, after consulting with his official legal adviser, replied to the captain-general at length on the subject, and expressed his surprise and displeasure at the misconduct of the commandant of Juan Fernandez, in allowing the strange ship to leave the harbor, instead of seizing her and her crew; as he should have known that, by the royal ordinance of November, 1692, every foreign vessel found in those seas, without a license from the court of Spain, was to be treated as an enemy, even though belonging to a friend or ally of the king, seeing that no other nation had, or ought to have, any territories, to reach which its vessels should pass around Cape Horn or through Magellan's Straits. In so serious a light did the viceroy regard the matter, that a ship was sent from Callao to track or intercept the *Columbia*; the authorities on the coasts of Peru and Chili were specially enjoined to be vigilant, and, in case any foreign vessel should appear in the vicinity, to seize her; and the whole affair was made known by a despatch to the viceroy of Mexico, in order that similar precautions might be adopted on his part. The unfortunate commandant Gonzales was cashiered for his remissness; and he subsequently addressed a petition to the government of the United States for its intercession with his sovereign. Thus were half of the Spanish do-

minions in America thrown into alarm and agitation, by the appearance of a trading ship from the United States on the Pacific: yet Teodor Lacroix, the viceroy of Peru, and Ambrose O'Higgins, captain-general of Chili, were men of education and experience, distinguished for their courage and sagacity; but such was the jealous system which they were bound to support.*

For the expedition of inquiry to the north-west coasts of America, the viceroy of Mexico employed two vessels, the corvette *Princesa*, commanded by Estevan Martinez, (who had been the pilot in the voyage of Juan Perez, in 1774,) and the schooner *San Carlos*, under Lieutenant Gonzalo Haro. They were instructed to proceed directly to Prince William's Sound, and to make every possible inquiry and examination respecting the establishments of the Russians there and in other parts of America adjacent; having completed which, they were to explore the coasts southward to California, if time should be left for that purpose, seeking particularly for places convenient for the reception of Spanish colonies: and they were especially enjoined to treat the natives of the places which they might visit with kindness, and not to engage in any quarrel with the Russians.

Of this voyage of Martinez and Haro, a short account will suffice. They quitted San Blas on the 8th of March, 1788, and, on the 25th of May, they anchored in the entrance of Prince William's Sound, where they lay nearly a month, without making any attempt to examine the surrounding shores. At length, in the end of June, Haro, having sailed, in the *San Carlos*, along the coast of the ocean farther south-west, discovered a Russian establishment on the east side of the Island of Kodiak, under the command of a Greek, named Delaref, with whom he was able to communicate; and from this person he received detailed accounts of all the Russian establishments in that quarter. On the 3d of July, Haro rejoined Martinez, who had, in the mean time, explored the coasts of Prince William's Sound; and they proceeded together along the eastern side of the

* The petition of Gonzales, with copies of his reports to the captain-general, and the sentence pronounced against him, remain in manuscript in the archives of the Department of State at Washington. Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state of the United States, recommended his case to the Spanish government, in a letter to Mr. Carmichael, then plenipotentiary at Madrid, dated April 11th, 1790, with what success is not known. The other particulars here related of this curious affair are derived from the General Report, or Instructions, left by the viceroy of Peru to his successor, on his retirement from that office, which was published at London in 1822, in the *Biblioteca Americana*.

peninsula of Aliaska, to Unalashka, the largest of the Aleutian Islands, where they arrived on the 30th of August. There they remained until the 18th of September, receiving every attention from the Russians belonging to the factory, and then sailed for the south. In their voyage homeward, the vessels were separated: Haro reached San Blas on the 22d of October; Martinez did not enter that port until the 5th of December, having put into Monterey for refreshments.*

The geographical observations made in this expedition were of little value at the time; and it would be needless to notice them here, as the coasts to which they relate have been since completely surveyed. Agreeably to the report presented by Martinez, on his return to the viceroy of Mexico, the Russian establishments in America at that time were in number eight, all situated east of Prince William's Sound, on which, however, one was then in progress; and they contained, together, two hundred and fifty-two Russian subjects, nearly all of whom were natives of Kamtchatka or Siberia. Martinez was, moreover, informed that two vessels had been sent in that summer from Kodiak, to found a settlement at Nootka Sound, and that two large ships were in preparation at Ochotsk, for further operations of the same nature. The vessels sent from Kodiak were doubtless those which proceeded, under Ismyloff and Betscharef, along the coast eastward to the foot of Mount St. Elias; the others were those intended for the expedition under Billings, which was not begun until 1790.

These accounts of the establishments and projects of the Russians were immediately communicated to the court of Madrid, which addressed to the empress of Russia a remonstrance against such encroachments of her subjects upon the territories of his Catholic majesty. In the memorial conveying this remonstrance, it is to be remarked that *Prince William's Sound* is assumed as separating the dominions of the two sovereigns; it being doubtless intended,

* The preceding account of this voyage is derived from the journal of Martinez, of which a copy, in manuscript, was obtained from the hydrographical office at Madrid.

The first notice of this expedition, published in Europe, was taken from a letter written at San Blas, soon after the arrival of Haro at that port, in which it was said that the Spaniards had found Russian establishments *between the forty-ninth and the fiftieth degrees of latitude*, instead of *between the fifty-ninth and the sixtieth degrees*, and on this error, such as is daily committed by persons ignorant of nautical matters, M. Poletica, the Russian envoy in the United States, endeavored, in 1822, to found a claim for his sovereign to the whole of the American coasts and islands on the Pacific north of the forty-ninth parallel. See hereafter, chap. xvi.

by means of this geographical obscurity, to leave undefined the delicate question as to the limits of Spanish America in the north-west. The empress of Russia answered — that orders had been given to her subjects not to make settlements in places belonging to other nations ; and, if those orders had been violated with regard to Spanish America, she desired the king of Spain to arrest the encroachments, in a friendly manner. With this answer, more courteous than specific, the Spanish minister professed himself content ; observing, however, in his reply, that Spain “ could not be responsible for what her officers might do, at places so distant, whilst they were acting under general orders to allow no settlements to be made by other nations on the Spanish American continent.” *

In the mean time, however, the viceroy of Mexico, Don Manuel de Flores, had, in virtue of his general instructions, taken a decisive measure with regard to Nootka Sound. For that purpose, he despatched Martinez and Haro from San Blas, early in 1789, with their vessels manned and equipped effectively ; ordering them, in case any British or Russian vessel should appear at Nootka, to receive her with the attention and civility required by the peace and friendship existing between Spain and those nations, but, at the same time, to declare the paramount rights of his Catholic majesty to the place, and the adjacent coasts, firmly, though discreetly, and without using harsh or insulting language.†

Before entering upon the narrative of the events which followed, it should be observed, with regard to the right of the Spanish government thus to take possession of Nootka, that, before the 6th of May, 1789, when Martinez entered the sound with that object, no settlement, factory, or other establishment whatsoever, had been founded or attempted, nor had any jurisdiction been exercised by the authorities or subjects of a civilized nation, in any part of America bordering upon the Pacific, between Port San Francisco, near the 38th degree of north latitude, and Prince William’s Sound, near the 60th. The Spaniards, the British, the Russians, and the French, had, indeed, landed at many places on those coasts, where they had displayed flags, performed ceremonies, and erected monuments, by way of *taking possession* — as it was termed — of the ad-

* Memorial addressed by the court of Spain to that of London, dated June 13th, 1790, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter D, No. 3.

† Abstract of these instructions to Martinez, in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 106.

adjacent territories for their respective sovereigns ; but such acts are, and were then, generally considered as empty pageants, securing no real rights to those by whom, or in whose names, they were performed. Nor does it appear that any portion of the above-mentioned territories had become the property of a foreigner, either by purchase, occupation, or any other title, which can be regarded as valid.] It has been already said that Mr. Meares, in his *Memorial*, addressed to the British Parliament, in 1790, laid claim to certain tracts of land about Nootka Sound, as having been ceded to him by the natives of the country, in 1788 ; but it was, at the same time, shown that this claim was unsupported by sufficient evidence, and was, moreover, directly, as well as indirectly, contradicted by Mr. Meares himself, in his *journal* of the same proceedings : and other circumstances will be mentioned hereafter, serving to prove the falsehood of that person's assertions, and of his pretensions to the possession of any part of the American territory.

[The right of exclusive sovereignty over these extensive regions was claimed by Spain, in virtue of the papal concession, 1493, of the first discovery of their coasts by Spanish subjects, and of the contiguity of the territories to the settled dominions of Spain. Of the validity of the title derived from the papal concession it appears to be needless, at the present day, to speak. That the Spaniards were the first discoverers of the west coasts of America, at least as far north as the 56th parallel of latitude, has been already shown ; and the fact is, and has been ever since the publication of Maurelle's *Journal*, in 1781, as indisputable as that the Portuguese discovered the south coasts of Africa. The extent of the rights derived from discovery are, however, by no means clearly defined by writers on public law ; and the practice of nations has been so different in different cases, that it seems impossible to deduce any general rule of action from it. That a nation whose subjects or citizens had ascertained the existence of a country previously unknown, should have a better right than any other to make settlements in that country, and, after such settlement, to own it, and to exercise sovereignty over it, is in every respect conformable with nature and justice ; but this principle is liable to innumerable difficulties in its application to particular cases. It is seldom easy to decide how far a discovery may have been such, in all respects, as should give this strongest right to settle, or to what extent of country a title of sovereignty may have been acquired by a particular settlement : and even where the novelty or priority and sufficiency of the discovery are admit-

ted, the right to occupy thus derived cannot surely be regarded as subsisting forever, to the exclusion of all other nations; and the claims of states already occupying contiguous territories are always to be taken into consideration.]

Agreeably to these views, it could not with justice be assumed that Spain, from the mere fact of the first discovery of the north-west coasts of America by her subjects, acquired the right to exclude all other nations from them forever; but it would be most unjust to deny that her right to occupy those vacant territories, contiguous as they were to her settled dominions, even if they had not been first discovered by her subjects, was much stronger than that of any other nation. Thus the occupation, and even the exploration, of any part of the north-west coasts by another power, might have been reasonably considered by Spain as an unfriendly, if not as an offensive, act; while she might, on the contrary, have extended her establishments at least as far north as the 56th parallel, and have claimed the exclusive right to occupy all the coasts south of her most northern establishment, without giving just cause of dissatisfaction to any other power. The *right to occupy* must be here distinguished from the *right of sovereignty*; as no nation could be justified, by virtue of the former right, and without occupation or the performance of acts indicating an intention soon to occupy, in depriving others of the trade of extensive vacant sea-coasts, unless upon the ground that the exercise of such trade would be injurious to its actual interests in those countries.

Resuming the narrative of events in the North Pacific — It has been mentioned, in the preceding chapter, that Meares sailed in the *Felice* from Nootka Sound to China, in the end of September, 1789. On reaching Macao, in December following, he learned that during his absence, Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, whose name appeared on the papers of the *Felice* and *Iphigenia* as their owner, had become a bankrupt. What steps were taken immediately, in consequence of this event, is not related; but an arrangement was soon after made between the anonymous merchant proprietors and Mr. Etches, the agent of the King George's Sound Company, who was then at Macao, with the ship *Prince of Wales* and sloop *Princess Royal*, for a union of the interests of the two parties. Agreeably to this arrangement, the *Felice* was sold, and the *Prince of Wales* returned to England; and a ship called the *Argonaut* was purchased, in which Colnett, a lieutenant in the British navy, previously commanding the *Princess Royal*, was despatched, in April,

1789, to Nootka, as captain, and agent for the proprietors on the American coast, accompanied by the Princess Royal, under Captain William Hudson.

The management of the affairs of the association at Macao appears to have been committed entirely to Meares, who drew up the instructions for Colnett. From these instructions, of which a copy is appended by Meares to his Memorial, it is evident that there was really an intention to found a permanent establishment on some part of the north-west coast of America, although no spot is designated as its site, and no hint is given of any acquisition of territory having been already made at or near Nootka Sound. Indeed, the only reference to that place, in the whole paper, is contained in the words, "We recommend you, if possible, to form a treaty with the various chiefs, particularly at Nootka." Yet Meares, in his Memorial, strangely enough says, "Mr. Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your memorialist had purchased in the preceding year, *as will appear by a copy of his instructions hereunto annexed.*" The Argonaut and Princess Royal were, moreover, certainly navigated under the British flag; there being no object in using any other, as they were both provided with licenses from the East India and the South Sea Companies, which afforded them the requisite authorization.*

Whilst these vessels were on their way to Nootka Sound, their first place of destination on the coast, the brig Iphigenia, and schooner North-West America, belonging to the same association, though under Portuguese colors, arrived in that bay from the Sandwich Islands, where they had passed the winter, agreeably to the instructions of Mr. Meares. They entered the sound on the 20th of April, in the most wretched condition imaginable. The Iphigenia was a mere wreck; according to the journal of Douglas, her supercargo or captain, annexed to the Memorial of Meares,

* The following account of the occurrences at Nootka in the summer of 1789 is taken from — the journal or narrative of the voyage of Meares, and the documents attached to it, consisting of his *Memorial* to Parliament, and papers in proof, among which is especially worthy of notice the journal of Douglas, the captain or supercargo of the Iphigenia — the journal of Colnett's voyage, in 1793, in which some of those circumstances are related in a note, at page 96 — the journal of Vancouver's voyage in 1792 — the letter addressed by the American Captains Gray and Ingraham to the Spanish commandant at Nootka, in 1792, which will be found at length among the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter C — and the memorials and other papers relative to the dispute which ensued between Great Britain, in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

"she had like to have foundered at sea, for want of pitch and tar to stop the leaks; she had no bread on board, and nothing but salt pork for her crew to live on; she was without cables," and, on attempting to moor her in the harbor, it was necessary to "borrow a fall from the American sloop *Washington*," which, with the ship *Columbia*, was found lying there. The *North-West America* was in no better condition; and, as they had no articles for barter with the natives, they must have remained inactive for some time, had they not procured some assistance and supplies from the American vessels, by means of which the schooner was enabled to leave the sound on the 28th of the month, for a short trading trip along the coasts. The *Washington*, about the same time, also departed on a similar expedition; and the *Iphigenia*, lying at Friendly Cove, and the *Columbia*, at Mawhinna, a few miles higher up, were the only vessels in Nootka Sound on the 6th of May, when the Spanish commander Martinez arrived there in the corvette *Princesa*, to take possession of the country for his sovereign.

Martinez immediately communicated his intentions to the captains of the other vessels, whose papers he also examined; and, appearing to be content, he landed materials and artillery, and began to erect a fort on a small island at the entrance of Friendly Cove. With this assumption of authority on his part, no dissatisfaction appears to have been expressed or entertained by either of the other parties; on the contrary, the utmost good feeling for some time prevailed on all sides: the officers of the different vessels visited and dined with each other, and Martinez readily supplied the *Iphigenia* with articles of which she was in need, in order to go to sea immediately, accepting, in return for them, bills drawn by her Portuguese captain, Viana, upon Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant of Macao, as her owner.

Things remained thus at Nootka for a week, at the end of which time the other Spanish vessel, the *San Carlos*, arrived, under Captain Haro. On the following day, the 15th of May, Martinez invited Viana and Douglas to come on board his ship; and, on their doing so, he immediately told them that they were prisoners, and their vessel was to be seized. "I inquired," says Douglas, in his journal, "the cause of his not taking the *Washington* sloop, as he had orders from the king of Spain to take every vessel he met out on this coast. He gave me no satisfactory answer, but told me my papers were bad; that they mentioned I was to take all English, Russian, and Spanish vessels that were of inferior force to the

Iphigenia, and send or carry their crews to Macao, there to be tried for their lives as pirates. I told him they had not interpreted the papers right; that, *though I did not understand the Portuguese, I had seen a copy of them in English, at Macao*, which mentioned, if I was attacked by any one of those nations, to defend myself, and, if I had the superiority, to send the captains and crews to Macao, to answer for the insult they had offered." Martinez, however, was not, or did not choose to be, content with this explanation, which certainly did not place the Iphigenia and her owners in a position conformable with the usages of civilized nations; and, in obedience to his orders, that brig was boarded by the Spaniards, her men, with her charts, papers, and instruments, were transferred to the ships of war, and preparations were begun for sending her, as a prize, to San Blas.

Whilst these preparations were in progress, the Spanish commandant altered his intentions, and proposed to release the Iphigenia and her crew, on condition that her officers would sign a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted, but had been kindly treated and supplied by him during her stay at Nootka. This proposition was at first refused; an arrangement was, however, afterwards made between the parties, in consequence of which the declaration was signed by the officers of the Iphigenia, and she and her crew were liberated on the 26th of May. Messrs. Viana and Douglas at the same time engaged for themselves, as "*captain and supercargo respectively, and for Juan Cavallo, of Macao, as owner of the said vessel,*" to pay her value, on demand, to the order of the viceroy of Mexico, in case he should pronounce her capture legal.

This seizure of the Iphigenia by Martinez can scarcely be considered unjust or unmerited, when it is recollected that, if, in attempting to enforce, with regard to her, the orders of his government,—which were perfectly conformable with the principles of national law as then recognized, and with treaties between Spain and the other powers,—he had been resisted and overcome, he, with his officers and men, would have been carried to Macao as prisoners, to be tried in Portuguese courts for piracy. Moreover, he had been informed that Meares was daily expected to arrive at Nootka, with other vessels belonging to the same concern; and it was his duty to provide against the probability of being overpowered or insulted, by lessening the forces of those from whom he had every reason to apprehend an attack. He was, indeed, specially enjoined, by the viceroy of Mexico, to treat English and Russian

vessels with respect; but the contingency of his meeting with a Portuguese vessel at Nootka, furnished with such instructions as those carried by the *Iphigenia*, could not have been foreseen; and the only grounds upon which he could have excused himself to his government for releasing her, even under the pledge given by her officers, must have been, that, at the time when those instructions were written, it was not anticipated, by her proprietors, that Spain would take possession of any place on the north-west coast of America.

That the detention of the *Iphigenia* by the Spaniards was not injurious to the interests of her owners, is clearly proved. The distressed condition in which she reached Nootka has been already shown from the accounts of her officers; and she must have remained at that place, unemployed, during the greater and better part of the trading season, had she not been refitted and supplied as she was by the Spaniards. According to the *narrative* of Meares, she sailed from the sound on the 1st of June, to the coasts of Queen Charlotte's Island, where she collected a number of valuable furs in a few weeks: the trade was "so brisk," writes Meares, "*that all the stock of iron was soon expended, and they were under the necessity of cutting up the chain plates and hatch-bars of the vessel,*" in order to find the means of purchasing the skins offered; thence she departed for the Sandwich Islands, and, after a short stay there, continued her voyage to Macao, where she arrived in October, with about seven hundred sea otter skins, all collected since leaving Nootka Sound. Mr. Meares, in his *Memorial*, however, presents a very different picture of these circumstances: he there says, "During the time the Spaniards held possession of the *Iphigenia*, she was stripped of all the merchandise which had been prepared for trading, as also of her stores, provisions, nautical instruments, charts, &c., and, in short, of every article, *except twelve bars of iron*, which they could conveniently carry away, even to the extent of the master's watch, and articles of clothing;" he then goes on to state that, "on leaving Nootka Sound, the *Iphigenia*, though in a very unfit condition for such a voyage, proceeded from thence to the Sandwich Islands, and, after obtaining there such supplies as they were enabled to purchase *with the iron before mentioned*, returned to China, and anchored there in the month of October, 1789" — thus omitting all notice of the trip to the northern coasts, and of the *brisk trade* with the natives, in which the *whole stock of iron*

(including, of course, the twelve bars before mentioned) was exchanged for furs.

Before taking leave of the *Iphigenia*, it may be added, in evidence of her true character, that Douglas quitted her immediately on her arrival in China; after which she continued to trade under the command of Viana, and under the flag of Portugal.

On the 8th of June, after the departure of the *Iphigenia*, the schooner *North-West America* returned from her voyage along the southern coasts, in which she had collected about two hundred sea otter skins, and was immediately seized by Martinez, in consequence, as he at first said, of an agreement to that effect between himself and the captain of the *Iphigenia*. This agreement is expressly denied by Douglas, who declares that both promises and threats had been used in vain to induce him to sell the small vessel at a price far below her real value; and, in proof, he cites a letter given by him to Martinez, addressed to the captain of the *North-West America*, in which he merely tells the latter to act as he may think best for the interest of the owners. Meares, in his Memorial, however, admits that the letter did not contain what Martinez understood to be its purport when he received it, and that advantage had been taken by Douglas of the Spaniard's ignorance of the English language; from which circumstances it is most probable that the agreement, whether voluntary on the part of the captain of the *Iphigenia*, or unjustly extorted from him, was actually made as asserted by Martinez. A few days afterwards, the sloop *Princess Royal*, one of the vessels sent from Macao by the associated companies, entered the sound under the command of William Hudson, bringing information of the failure of Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, upon whom, as owner of the *Iphigenia*, the bills in payment for the supplies furnished to that vessel, were drawn. Upon learning this, Martinez announced his determination to hold the *North-West America* in satisfaction for the amount of those bills: she was thereupon immediately equipped for a trading voyage, and sent out under the command of one of the mates of the *Columbia*; but her officers and men were at the same time liberated, and nearly all the skins collected by her were placed on board the *Princess Royal*, for the benefit of the owners in China.

The *Princess Royal* remained at Nootka until the 2d of July, during which period she was undisturbed, and her officers and men were treated with perfect civility and respect by the Span-

iards. As she was leaving the sound on that day, her consort, the ship *Argonaut*, came in from Macao, under Captain Colnett, who, as already mentioned, had been charged by the associated companies with the direction of their affairs on the American coast, and the establishment of a factory and fort for their benefit. What followed with regard to this ship has been represented under various colours; but the principal facts, as generally admitted, were these:—

As soon as the *Argonaut* appeared at the entrance of the sound, she was boarded by Martinez, who presented to Colnett a letter from the captain of the *Princess Royal*; and pressed him earnestly to enter the sound, and supply the Spanish vessels with some articles of which they were much in want. Several of the officers of the *North-West America* and the *Columbia* also came on board the *Argonaut*, and communicated what had occurred respecting the *Iphigenia* and the small vessel to Colnett, who, in consequence, hesitated as to entering the sound; but he was finally induced, by the assurances of Martinez, to do so, and before midnight his ship was anchored in Friendly Cove, between the *Princessa* and the *San Carlos*.

On the following day, Colnett, having supplied the Spanish ships with some articles, was preparing, as he states, to leave the sound, when he received an invitation to go on board the commandant's ship and exhibit his papers. He accordingly went, in uniform, and with his sword by his side, into the cabin of the *Princessa*, where he displayed his papers, and informed Martinez of his intention to take possession of Nootka, and erect a fort there under the British flag. The commandant replied, that this could not be done, as the place was already occupied by the forces and in the name of his Catholic majesty; and an altercation ensued, the results of which were the arrest and confinement of Colnett, and the seizure of the *Argonaut* by the Spaniards. From the moment of his arrest, Colnett became insane or delirious, and continued in this state for several weeks, during which Duffin, the mate of his vessel, acted as the representative of the proprietors: in the mean time, her cargo had been all placed on board the Spanish ships of war; and, on the 18th of July, she sailed, with her officers and nearly the whole of her crew as prisoners, under the command of a Spanish lieutenant, for San Blas.

If the accounts of these transactions, presented by Meares in his Memorial, and by Colnett in the narrative which he afterwards published, be admitted as conveying a full and correct view of the

circumstances, the conduct of Martinez must be considered as nearly equivalent to piracy. From these accounts it would appear that the ship was treacherously seized, without any reasonable ground, or even pretext, and with the sole premeditated object of plundering her; and that the most cruel acts of violence, insult, and restraint, were wantonly committed upon the officers and men during the whole period of their imprisonment. Colnett relates* — that, when he presented his papers to Martinez in the cabin of the *Princesa*, the commandant, without examining them, pronounced them to be forged, and immediately declared that the *Argonaut* should not go to sea — that, upon his “*remonstrating* [in what terms he does not say] *against this breach of good faith, and forgetfulness of word and honor pledged,*” the Spaniard rose, in apparent anger, and introduced a party of armed men, by whom he was struck down, placed in the stocks, and then closely confined — that he was afterwards carried from ship to ship like a criminal, threatened with instant execution as a pirate, and subjected to so many injuries and indignities as to throw him into a violent fever and delirium, which were near proving fatal — and that his officers and men were imprisoned and kept in irons from the time of their seizure until their arrival at San Blas, where many of them died in consequence of ill treatment. Meares, in his Memorial, makes the same assertions, many of which are supported by the deposition of the officers and seamen of the *North-West America*, taken in China, and appended to the Memorial. On the other hand, Gray, the captain of the *Washington*, and Ingraham, the mate of the *Columbia*, both of whom were at Nootka during the occurrence of the affair, “were informed by those whose veracity they had no reason to doubt,” † that Colnett, in his interview with Martinez on board the *Princesa*, denied the right of the Spaniards to occupy Nootka, and endeavored to impose upon the Spanish commandant, by representing himself as acting under direct orders from the British government; and that he afterwards insulted the Spaniard by threatening him and drawing his sword. Colnett himself says that he attempted to draw his sword on the occasion, but that it was in defence against those who assailed him; and it must be allowed to be very difficult to “*remonstrate*” with a man upon “*his breach of faith, and forgetful-*

* Account of his Voyage in the Pacific in 1793, note at p. 96; also Vancouver's Journal, vol. iii. p. 492. These two accounts differ in some points.

† Letter of Gray and Ingraham, in the Proofs and Illustrations, letter C.

ness of his word and honor pledged," without insulting him. Duffin, the mate of the Argonaut, writing to Meares from Nootka, ten days after the seizure of the ship, gives nearly the same account of the interview, adding that the misunderstanding was probably occasioned by the interpreter's ignorance of the English language: he says that Martinez appeared to be very sorry for what had happened, and had "behaved with great civility, by obliging his prisoners with every liberty that could be expected;" and he complains of no violence, either to the feelings or to the persons of any of the crews of the vessels seized, although he charges the Spaniards with plundering both openly and secretly. Moreover, Duffin declares, and Meares repeats, in his Memorial, that the disease with which Colnett was afflicted after his arrest was a fit of insanity, occasioned by fear and disappointment operating upon a mind naturally weak and hereditarily predisposed to such alienation.

On the part of Spain, the only statements which have been publicly made are those contained in the notes and memorials addressed by the court of Madrid to other governments in 1790; and in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes—all of which, though officially presented, are nevertheless imperfect and evidently erroneous on several important points.*

Upon reviewing the circumstances of the affair, there appears to be no reason to doubt that Colnett entered the sound, relying on the assurances of Martinez, that he should be undisturbed while

* These notes and memorials, which will be mentioned more particularly hereafter, may be found in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D. All that is said in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes respecting the dispute, or the circumstances which led to it, is contained in the paragraph of which the following is a translation:—

"On the 2d of July, the English ship Argonaut, which had been sent by an English company from Macao, entered the port. Her captain, James Colnett, came, with authority from the king of England, to take possession of the port of Nootka, to fortify it, and to establish there a factory for the collection of sea otter skins, and to prevent other nations from engaging in this trade, with which objects he was to build a large ship and a schooner. This manifest infraction of the rights over that region led to a serious quarrel between the Spanish commandant and the English captain, which extended to Europe; and, the two powers being alarmed, the world was for some time threatened with war and devastation, the results of discord. Captain Colnett refused, repeatedly and obstinately, to exhibit to Martinez the instructions which he brought; and he expressed himself in language so indecorous and irritating, that our commandant, having exhausted all the measures of prudence which he had hitherto employed, resolved to arrest the British captain in the cabin of his ship, and to declare all the persons on board the Argonaut prisoners of war, and to send them to San Blas, to be there placed at the disposition of the viceroy of Mexico."

there, and be allowed to depart at his pleasure; and it seems to be equally certain that the English captain did afterwards conduct himself with so much violence and extravagance towards the Spanish commandant, as to render his own arrest perfectly justifiable. The seizure of the Argonaut, the imprisonment of her other officers and crew, and the spoliation of her cargo, cannot, however, be defended on those or on any grounds afforded by the evidence of any of the parties; for Martinez had no reason to apprehend an attack from the Argonaut, and he had been specially instructed, by his immediate superior, the viceroy of Mexico, to suspend, with regard to British vessels on the north-west coasts, the execution of the general orders to Spanish commandants, for the seizure of foreign vessels entering the ports of the American dominions.

Still less excusable was the conduct of Martinez towards the sloop Princess Royal, on her second arrival at Nootka. She appeared at the entrance of the sound on the 13th of July, having made a short trading cruise along the northern coasts; and her captain, Hudson, on coming up to Friendly Cove in a boat, was arrested, after which his vessel was boarded and brought in as a prize by a party of Spaniards despatched for the purpose. On the following day, the majority of her crew were transferred to the Argonaut, which carried them as prisoners to San Blas; her cargo was then taken out, and she was herself afterwards employed for nearly two years in the Spanish service, under Lieutenant Quimper.

The schooner North-West America was also retained in the national service of Spain; her officers and men, with some of those of the Argonaut and Princess Royal, were, however, placed on board the American ship Columbia, to be carried as passengers to China, one hundred of the sea otter skins found in the Princess Royal being allowed in payment of their wages and transportation. Martinez remained at Nootka until November, when he departed, with his three vessels, for San Blas, agreeably to orders received by him from Mexico.

The Columbia had remained in the sound ever since her first arrival there, in October, 1788; the Washington being, in the mean time, engaged in trading along the coasts north and south of that place, to which she, however, frequently returned, in order to deposit the furs collected. The officers of these vessels were thus witnesses of nearly all the occurrences at Nootka during the summer of 1789, in which, indeed, they frequently took part as mediators;

and the only evidence, with regard to those events, except the journal of Douglas, which can bear the test of strict examination, is contained in a letter addressed, three years afterwards, to the Spanish commandant of Nootka, by Gray, the captain of the *Washington*, and Ingraham, the mate of the *Columbia*.^{*} Meares and Colnett endeavor to cast blame on the Americans for their conduct in these proceedings; their complaints, however, on examination, seem to rest entirely on the fact that the *Washington* and *Columbia* were undisturbed, while their own vessels were seized by the Spaniards. That Gray and Kendrick profited by the quarrels between the other two parties is probable, and no one can question their right to do so; but no evidence has been adduced that they, on any occasion, took an unfair advantage of either: though it is also probable that their feelings were rather in favor of the Spaniards, by whom they were always treated with courtesy and kindness, than of the British, to whom, if we are to judge by the expressions of Meares and Colnett, they were, from the commencement, the objects of hatred and ridicule.

In one of the above-mentioned trading excursions of the *Washington*, made in June, 1789, Gray explored the whole east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, which had never before been visited by the people of any civilized nation, though Duncan, in the *Princess Royal*, had, in the preceding year, sailed through the sea separating it from the main land and other islands. The American, being ignorant of this fact, as also of the name bestowed on the territory by Dixon, called it *Washington's Island*; and thus it was, for a long period, always distinguished by the fur traders of the United States. Meares endeavors, in his narrative, to secure to Douglas, the captain of the *Iphigenia*, the merit of having first established the insolation of the territory; though Douglas, in his journal annexed to that narrative, expressly alludes to the previous visits of the *Washington* to many places on the east coast. The assertion of this claim for Douglas was one of the causes of the dispute between Meares and Dixon, in 1791, which will be hereafter mentioned more particularly.

In a subsequent excursion from Nootka, Gray entered the opening south-east of that place, between the 48th and 49th parallels of latitude, which had been found by Berkely in 1787, and was supposed to be the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Through

^{*} See Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

this opening Gray sailed, as he informed Vancouver in 1792, "fifty miles in an east-south-east direction, and found the passage five leagues wide." He then returned to the Pacific, and, on his way to Nootka, he met the Columbia, which had just quitted the sound, with the crew of the North-West America on board as passengers, for China; and it was agreed between the two captains that Kendrick should take command of the sloop, and remain on the coast, while Gray, in the Columbia, should carry to Canton all the furs which had been collected by both vessels. This was accordingly done; and Gray arrived, on the 6th of December, at Canton, where he sold his furs, and took in a cargo of tea, with which he entered Boston on the 10th of August, 1790, having carried the flag of the United States for the first time around the world. Kendrick, immediately on parting with the Columbia, proceeded in the Washington to the Strait of Fuca, through which he passed, in its whole length, as will be hereafter more fully shown.

The Argonaut, with Colnett and his men on board as prisoners, arrived, on the 16th of August, at San Blas, near which place they were kept prisoners until the arrival of the commandant of that department, Captain Bodega y Quadra, by whom Colnett was treated with great kindness, and soon after sent to the city of Mexico. There he remained several months, during which the examination of the cases of the seized vessels was in progress; and it was at length decided — that, although Martinez had acted conformably with the general laws and regulations of Spain, forbidding all aliens from resorting to the Spanish American coasts, and the vessels might therefore be retained as lawful prizes, yet, in consideration of the apparent ignorance of their officers and owners with regard to the laws and rights of Spain, as also for the sake of peace with England, they should be released, with the understanding, however, that they were not again to enter any place on the Spanish American coasts, either for the purpose of settlement or of trade with the natives. In virtue of this decision, Colnett returned to San Blas, where he learned that several of his men had died of the fever endemic at that place, and his ship was much injured by the service to which she had been subjected; she was, nevertheless, refitted, and, with the remainder of her crew, he sailed in her for Nootka, to receive possession of the Princess Royal, for which he had an order. On arriving at the sound, Colnett found the place deserted; and, not knowing where to seek

the sloop, he sailed for Macao, which he reached in the latter part of 1790. Thence he went, in the following year, to the Sandwich Islands, where the Princess Royal was restored to him, in March, by Lieutenant Quimper, the Spanish officer under whose command she had been employed for nearly two years.

The political discussions between the governments of Great Britain and Spain, which had meanwhile taken place, in consequence of the seizures at Nootka, will be related in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

1790.

Controversy between Great Britain and Spain respecting the North-West Coasts of America and the Navigation of the Pacific — The Owners of the Vessels seized at Nootka apply for Redress to the British Government, which demands Satisfaction for the alleged Outrages — Spain resists the Demand, and calls on France for Aid, agreeably to the Family Compact — Proceedings in the National Assembly of France on the Subject — Spain engages to indemnify the British for the Property seized — Further Demands of Great Britain — Designs of Pitt against Spanish America — Secret Mediation of France, through which the Dispute is settled — Convention of October, 1790, called the *Nootka Treaty* — Proceedings in Parliament, and Reflections on this Convention.

THE *Columbia* arrived at Macao from Nootka in December, 1789, bringing as passengers the officers and crew of the *North-West America*, who communicated the news of the capture of that vessel, and of the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal*, by the Spaniards. The owners immediately determined to apply to the British government for redress; and Meares was accordingly despatched to London, where he arrived in April, 1790, provided with depositions, and other documents, in substantiation of their claims. While he was on his way, however, the circumstances on which his application was to be founded had already become the subject of a serious discussion between the courts of London and Madrid.

On the 10th of February, 1790, the Spanish ambassador at London presented to the British ministry a note, in which, after communicating the fact of the seizure of a British vessel (the *Argonaut*) at Nootka, he required, in the name of his government, that the parties who had planned the expedition should be punished, in order to deter other persons from making settlements on territories long occupied and frequented by the Spaniards; and he at the same time complained of the trade and fishery, by British subjects, in the seas adjoining the Spanish American continent on the west, as contrary to the rights of Spain, guaranteed by Great Britain in the treaty of Utrecht, and respected by all European nations. To this the British ministers answered, on the 26th, that, although they had not received exact information as to the facts stated by the

ambassador, yet the act of violence against British subjects described in his note necessarily suspended all discussion of the claims advanced by him, until adequate atonement should have been made for the outrage. In the mean time, they demanded the immediate restoration of the vessel seized, reserving further proceedings on the subject until more complete details of the circumstances could be obtained.

This unexpected answer, with other circumstances, induced the Spanish cabinet to suspect that more was meant than had been openly declared by Great Britain ; that this power was, in fact, only seeking an occasion to break the peace with Spain for some ulterior object : and, under the influence of this suspicion, preparations for war were commenced in all the naval arsenals of the latter kingdom. The king of Spain being, however, anxious to prevent a rupture, if possible, his ambassador at London addressed another note to the British government in April, declaring that, although the Spanish crown had an indubitable right to the continent, islands, harbors, and coasts, of America on the Pacific, founded upon treaties and immemorial possession, yet, as the viceroy of Mexico had released the vessel seized at Nootka, his Catholic majesty regarded the affair as concluded, without entering into any disputes and discussions on the undoubted rights of Spain ; and, desiring to give a proof of his friendship for Great Britain, he should rest satisfied, if her subjects were commanded to respect those rights in future.

This last communication was received about the time when Meares arrived in London from China ; and the information brought by him was not calculated to render the British government inclined to accept the pacific overture of Spain. On the contrary, orders were issued for arming two large fleets, and the whole affair, which had been previously kept secret, was submitted to Parliament by a message from the king on the 5th of May.

In this message, his majesty states that two vessels, belonging to his subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others, of which the description was not then sufficiently ascertained, had been captured at Nootka Sound, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war ; the cargoes of the two British vessels had been seized, and their crews had been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port ; — that, as soon as he had been informed of the capture of one of these vessels, he had ordered a demand to be made for her restitution, and for adequate satisfaction, previous to any other discussion ; from the answer to which demand, it appeared that the

vessel and her crew had been liberated by the viceroy of Mexico, on the supposition, however, that ignorance of the rights of Spain alone induced individuals of other nations to frequent those coasts, for the purposes of trade and settlement; — but that no satisfaction was made or offered by Spain, and a direct claim was asserted by her government to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas, of that part of the world. In consequence of all which, his majesty had directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on the subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently required. Having, moreover, been informed that considerable armaments were in progress in the ports of Spain, he had judged it indispensable to make preparations for acting with vigor and effect in support of the honor of his crown, and the interests of his people; and he recommended that Parliament should enable him to take such other measures, and to make such augmentations of his forces, as might be eventually requisite for this purpose.*

The recommendations in this message were received with every mark of concurrence in Parliament and throughout the kingdom; the supplies were immediately voted, and the preparations for war were continued with unexampled activity. On the day in which the message was sent, a note was addressed to the Spanish ambassador at London, containing a reiteration of the demands previously made, and of the declaration that, until those demands should have been satisfied, the question of the rights of Spain would not be discussed. “His majesty,” says the note, “will take the most effectual pacific measures to prevent his subjects from trespassing on the just and acknowledged rights of Spain: but he cannot accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, commerce, and navigation, which appeared to be the principal objects of the last note from the Spanish ambassador; and he considers it his duty to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of the right of fishery in the Pacific Ocean.” The British Chargé d’affaires at Madrid also presented, in the name of his government, formal demands for the restitution of the other vessel [the *Princess Royal*] and cargo seized at Nootka, and for reparation of the losses and injuries sustained by the British subjects trading in the North Pacific under the British flag; asserting,

* This message, and all the other official documents relative to the discussion which have been published, will be found in the *Proofs and Illustrations*, under the letter D.

at the same time, as a principle which would be maintained by his government, that "*British subjects have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery, and to the possession of such establishments as they should form, with the consent of the natives of the country, not previously occupied by any of the European nations.*"

To these formal exactions of the British government, the court of Madrid replied, at first indirectly, by a circular letter addressed, on the 4th of June, to all the other courts of Europe. This letter was couched in the most conciliatory language: it contained a recapitulation of the circumstances of the dispute, according to the views of Spain; denying all intention, on her part, to commit or defend any act of injustice against Great Britain, or to claim any rights which did not rest upon irrefragable titles; insisting that the capture of the British vessel had been repaired by the conduct of the viceroy of Mexico in immediately restoring her; and declaring the readiness of his Catholic majesty to satisfy any demands which should prove to be well founded, after an investigation of the question of right between the two crowns. This reply not being considered sufficient by the British ambassador, a *Memorial* was delivered to him, on the 13th of the same month, by count de Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister of state, not differing essentially in its import from the circular letter; which, however, served only to render the ambassador still more urgent for a specific answer to the demands of his government. At length, after repeated conferences, the Spanish minister, on the 18th, officially signified that his sovereign, having approved the restitution of all the vessels and their cargoes seized at Nootka, was willing to indemnify the owners for their losses, and also to make satisfaction for the insult to the dignity of the British crown; provided, that the extent of the insult and of the satisfaction should be settled, in form and substance, either by one of the kings of Europe, to be selected by his Britannic majesty, or by a negotiation between the two governments, in which no facts were to be admitted as true, except such as were fully established; and that no inference affecting the rights of Spain should be drawn from the act of giving satisfaction.

This offer of reparation was accepted by the court of London; and, on the 24th of July, count de Florida Blanca presented to Mr. Fitzherbert, the British ambassador at Madrid, a *Declaration*, in the name of his sovereign, to the effect—that he would restore the vessels and indemnify the owners for their losses, so soon as the

amount should have been ascertained, and would give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he had complained; and this Declaration, together with the performance of the engagements made in it, was admitted by the ambassador in his *Counter Declaration*,* as full and entire satisfaction for those injuries: it being, however, at the same time admitted and expressed on both sides, that the Spanish "Declaration was not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his Catholic majesty might claim to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka Sound."

The affair had thus far proceeded, nearly in the same course as that respecting the Falkland Islands, twenty years previous; and the government of Madrid probably supposed that it would have been terminated in the same manner. But Mr. Pitt, then in the fulness of his power in England, had other objects in view. The revolution in France was then advancing with a rapidity terrible to all who desired to maintain the existing state of things in Europe; and anti-monarchical doctrines and feelings were pervading every part of that continent, and even of the British Islands. Pitt clearly foresaw the storm which afterwards came on, and determined to prepare for it, by arming at home, and by leading or forcing other nations to accede to his plans. He accordingly formed alliances with Holland and Sweden: for Spain he had inherited all his father's hatred and contempt; and, considering her long and close connection with France, he resolved to bend and bind her to his views by the strong hand. He had already, in an inconceivably short space of time, assembled a mighty armament, which he intended, in the event of a war, to direct against the Spanish possessions in America, for the purpose of wresting them from their actual rulers, either by conquest or by internal revolution;† and, having assumed this position, he did not hesitate to require from Spain the surrender of many of the exclusive pretensions with regard to navigation, commerce, and territorial sovereignty, upon which her dominion in the western continent was supposed, with reason, to

* The Declaration and Counter Declaration may be found among the documents connected with the discussion, in the *Proofs and Illustrations*, under the letter D, No. 7.

† Mr. Pitt's scheme for detaching from Spain her transatlantic dominions is believed, with reason, to have been suggested to him by Francisco Miranda, a native of Caraccas, through whose agency a number of exiles and fugitives from those countries, including many of the expelled Jesuits, were engaged in the plan, and correspondences were commenced with the principal persons inclined to a separation from Spain in all parts of her American territories. On this subject, many curious particulars may be found in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1809. The subsequent history, and the melancholy fate, of Miranda are well known.

depend. The negotiation on the subject of these demands was continued at Madrid for three months after the acceptance of the Spanish Declaration; during which period couriers were constantly flying between that city and London, and the whole civilized world was kept in suspense and anxiety as to the result.

The British plenipotentiary at Madrid, Mr. Fitzherbert, began by requiring from Spain a distinct admission of the right of his countrymen to navigate and fish in any part of the Pacific, and to trade and settle on any of its unoccupied American coasts; in reply to which, the Spanish minister, Count de Florida Blanca, proposed to admit the rights of fishery, trade, and settlement, with regard to the open sea, and to coasts north of the 51st parallel of latitude, on condition that the British should never penetrate more than twenty leagues into the interior, from those coasts, and to allow the privilege of fishing about the southern extremity of the continent, but not of settling there, leaving to Spain the right to destroy any such establishments, "as is practised in the Falkland Islands."* Mr. Fitzherbert rejected this proposition, and insisted that certain lines of boundary should be drawn from the coasts, through the interior of the continents, in the north and in the south, between which British subjects should form no settlements; the territories beyond those lines, in either direction, being free to both nations, provided that the subjects of either should have access to the settlements thus made by the other party. The line first proposed by the British as the northern boundary, was to extend from the Pacific, along the 31st parallel of latitude, to the Colorado, thence along that river to its source, and thence to the nearest branch of the Missouri; but another line was afterwards offered, running from the Pacific, along the 40th parallel of latitude, eastward to the Missouri. The Spanish government, however, positively refused to assent to these or any other lines of boundary thus arbitrarily chosen; and all hope of accommodation seemed to be destroyed. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the admission of either of these lines would have materially affected the destinies of the United States, and, indeed, of the whole northern continent.

In the mean time, events were occurring in other parts of Europe, which contributed to change the views of the disputing parties, and to incline them to compromise their differences, and even to unite their forces.

As soon as the dispute between Great Britain and Spain, and the

* Narrative of the negotiations occasioned by the dispute between England and Spain in the year 1790, officially published by the British ministers in 1790.

preparations of those powers for war, became known, King Louis XVI. of France ordered fourteen sail of the line to be equipped for active service, in order to meet contingencies. He was, however, under the necessity of communicating this measure to the National Assembly, then in session, which seized the occasion to deprive the crown of one of its most essential attributes. On the 24th of May, a decree was passed by that body, establishing that the right to make war or peace belonged to the nation, and could only be exercised through the concurrence of the legislative and the executive branches of the government; and that no treaty with another power could have effect until it had been ratified by the representatives of the nation: a committee was at the same time appointed to examine and report upon all the existing treaties of alliance between France and other nations. These proceedings were equivalent to an annulment of the *Family Compact* between the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon: nevertheless, when the king of Spain found himself pressed by Great Britain to relinquish his exclusive pretensions with regard to America, he formally applied to his cousin of France for aid, agreeably to that compact, in resisting those demands; declaring, at the same time, that, unless the assistance should be given speedily and effectually, "Spain would be under the necessity of seeking other friends and allies among all the powers of Europe, without excepting any, on whom she could rely in case of need."

The letter of the king of Spain was submitted by Louis XVI. to the National Assembly, by which it was referred to the committee appointed to examine the existing treaties between France and other nations; and, in the name of that committee, the celebrated Mirabeau, on the 24th of August, presented a luminous report, including considerations of the character of the Family Compact and other engagements between France and Spain, and a view of the actual positions of Spain and Great Britain towards each other and towards France. The questions raised by this report were debated, with great display of eloquence and political wisdom, by Mirabeau, the Abbé Maury, Lameth, Barnave, and other distinguished members of the Assembly; and it was decreed that France, while taking proper measures to maintain peace, should observe the existing commercial and defensive engagements between her government and that of Spain; but that a new and *national* treaty should be immediately negotiated, wherein the relations of the two countries towards each other should be defined and fixed with precision and clearness, agreeably to the views of general

peace, and the principles of justice, which were, in future, to prevail in France; and that, taking into consideration the armaments then in progress throughout Europe, and the dangers to which the commerce and colonies of France might be exposed, the marine force of the kingdom should be increased, without delay, to forty-five sail of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates.

Although this decree contained no direct promise of assistance to Spain, yet it showed that the French government penetrated the designs of the British, and considered them inimical to its own interests; while, at the same time, the report, on which the decree was based, evinced an ardent desire, on the part of the French reformers, to preserve peace. In the mean time, revolutionary principles were making rapid progress throughout Europe. The Dutch, who had engaged to assist the British with a fleet, in case of a war with Spain, found their forces necessary at home; Sweden having, much to the dissatisfaction of the court of London, made peace with Russia, the latter power was left at liberty to prosecute its schemes for the dismemberment of "England's old ally," Turkey; and, in the East Indies, Tippoo Saib was beginning that war against the British power which he prosecuted so long and vigorously. Moreover, the expenses of the British armament had already amounted to more than four millions of pounds; and the financial condition of England was not such as to encourage her government to commence hostilities, which would, most probably, become general. Under these circumstances, the court of St. James was under the necessity of lowering its tone, and of receding from its first demands. The determination of lines of boundary to the Spanish American dominions in the north and in the south was no longer required; and it was admitted that the navigation and fishery of British subjects in the Pacific Ocean should not be carried on within ten sea leagues of any existing Spanish settlement, and that neither party should form settlements on the coasts of South America, south of those actually occupied by Spain. Mr. Pitt, moreover, knowing the intimate relations which still subsisted between the French and Spanish governments, commissioned a gentleman at Paris, upon whom he could rely, to sound Mirabeau, and other leaders of the National Assembly; and, having reason to believe them sincerely anxious to prevent hostilities, he instructed his agent to propose a secret negotiation, to be carried on through the medium of the French government, for the restoration of a good understanding between Great Britain and Spain.

In the letter of instructions from Mr. Pitt to his agent at Paris,* he declares it to be essential that "the French should not appear in the business as mediators, still less as arbitrators," and that no encouragement should be given to them to propose any other terms than those on which Great Britain had already insisted; that, "whatever confidential communications may take place with the diplomatic committee of the National Assembly, for the sake of bringing them to promote the views of Great Britain, no ostensible intercourse could be admitted, except through accredited ministers;" and especially that "no assurances be given, directly or indirectly, which go further than that Great Britain means to persevere in the neutrality which she has hitherto observed with respect to the internal dissensions of France, and is desirous to cultivate peace and friendly relations with that country." The agent, thus instructed, presented himself to the diplomatic committee of the National Assembly, which at once resolved to do all in its power to strengthen the relations with England, and to prevent a war, if possible; and, with this view, three of its most influential members, Fréteau, Barnave, and Menou, were deputed to conduct the business on its part. These members conferred with the British agent, and also with M. de Montmorin, the minister of foreign relations of France, who communicated directly with the Spanish government; and in this manner the controversy was brought to a close, by a convention signed, at the palace of the Escorial, on the 28th of October, by Mr. Fitzherbert, the British ambassador, and count de Florida Blanca on the part of Spain.

This convention, commonly called the *Nootka treaty*, contains eight articles, of which the substance is as follows:—

With respect to the circumstances which occasioned the dispute, it was stipulated, by the first and second articles, that the buildings and tracts of land, on the north-west coasts of America, of which British subjects were dispossessed by a Spanish officer, "*about the month of April, 1789,*" shall be restored; a just reparation shall be made for all acts of violence or hostility committed by the subjects of either party against those of the other, "*subsequent to the month of April, 1789;*" and, in case the subjects of either should have been, "*since the same period,*" forcibly dispossessed of their lands, vessels, or other property on the American coasts, or the

* The whole letter is given by Bishop Tomline, in his *Life of Pitt*, chap. xii. The name of the person to whom it is addressed does not appear; he is simply mentioned as "a gentleman resident at Paris, of considerable diplomatic experience."

adjoining seas, they shall be reëstablished in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for their losses.

For the future, it was agreed, by the third article of the convention, that the subjects of the two parties shall not be disturbed in navigating or fishing in the South Seas, or the Pacific Ocean, or in landing on the coasts thereof, in places not already occupied, for the purposes of settlement or of trade with the natives; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles, to wit:—that his Britannic majesty shall take the most effectual means to prevent his subjects from making their navigation or fishery in those seas a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; with which view it is agreed that British subjects shall not navigate or fish within ten leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain; that the subjects of both nations shall have free access and right of trading in the places restored to British subjects by this convention, and in any other parts of the north-west coasts of America, north of the places already occupied by Spain, where the subjects of either party shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or may in future make any; and that no settlement shall in future be made, by the subjects of either power, on the eastern or the western coasts of South America, or the adjacent islands, south of the parts of the same coasts or islands already occupied by Spain; though the subjects of both remained at liberty to land on those coasts and islands, and to erect temporary buildings only, for the purposes of their fishery.

Finally, it was agreed, by the seventh article, that, in cases of infraction of the convention, the officers of either party shall, without committing any act of violence themselves, make an exact report of the affair to their respective governments, which would terminate such differences in an amicable manner. The eighth article relates merely to the time of ratification of the convention.*

The convention, together with the declaration and counter declaration preceding it, were submitted to Parliament on the 3d of December, unaccompanied by any other papers relative to the negotiation; and they became the subjects of animated debates, in which the most distinguished members of both houses took parts. The arrangements were extolled by the ministers and their friends in general terms, as vindicating the dignity of the nation, and

* The convention will be found at length among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter K, No. 1.

providing reparation for the injuries sustained by its subjects, and as securing to those subjects, in future, the rights of navigation and fishery in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and of settlement on their unoccupied coasts, and establishing the long-discussed questions on those points, on such grounds as must prevent all further dispute. The opposition, on the other hand, contended that the reparation promised by Spain was incomplete and insufficient; that the arrangements for the prevention of future difficulties were merely culpable concessions to that power, whereby the rights of British subjects were materially abridged, and the Spaniards would be encouraged to commit further acts of violence; and, finally, that all the advantages which could be expected from the convention, even according to the views of the ministers, were far below the amount of the expense at which they had been obtained.

It was noticed by Mr. Charles Fox, as a curious and inexplicable incongruity in the treaty, that "*about the month of April, 1789,*" should have been inserted as the date of what was known to have taken place, agreeably to all the evidence produced, in *May* of the same year; and that, although, by the first article, the lands and buildings declared to have been taken from British subjects by a Spanish officer, "*about the month of April, 1789,*" were to be restored, yet, by the second article, the lands, buildings, and other property, of which the subjects of either party had been dispossessed "*subsequent to the month of April, 1789,*" were to be restored, *or* compensation was to be made to the owners for the losses which they might have sustained. Upon this point, it will be seen that, if the word "*or,*" in the concluding part of the second article, were replaced by *and*, the incongruity would disappear; but then, also, the first article would become entirely superfluous. It would, however, be idle to suppose that any *error* could have been committed with regard to matters so essential, or that the want of accordance between the different provisions of the convention, noticed by Mr. Fox, should have been the result of accident or carelessness. The ministers, when pressed for explanations on this head, answered, indirectly, that the Spanish government would make the restitutions as agreed in the first article.

It may here be observed, that no notice whatsoever of a claim, on the part of British subjects, to *lands or buildings* on the north-west coast of America, appears either in the king's message to Parliament, communicating the fact of the seizures at Nootka, or

in the debates in Parliament on that message, or in the official correspondence between the two governments on the subject, so far as published; and the only evidence of such acquisition of lands or erection of buildings to be found among the documents annexed to the Memorial presented by Meares to the ministry, is contained in the *information of William Graham*, a seaman of the *Felice*, which was *taken in London five days after the date of the Memorial*. "The *statement of actual and probable losses*," for which the memorialists prayed to be indemnified, to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is, moreover, confined entirely to losses consequent upon the seizure of the vessels and cargoes at Nootka. This silence, with regard to lands and buildings, in all the documents brought from China by Meares, certainly authorizes the suspicion that the idea of advancing a claim on those points may have occurred to that gentleman, or may have been suggested to him after his arrival in England, and even after his first communications with the ministers.

With respect to the rights of navigation and fishery in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and of settlement on their unoccupied coasts, it was insisted by Fox, Grey, the marquis of Lansdowne, and other eminent members of the opposition in Parliament, that nothing had been gained, but, on the contrary, much had been surrendered, by the convention. "Our right, before the convention," said Mr. Fox, — "*whether admitted or denied by Spain was of no consequence*, — was to settle in any part of South or North-West America, not fortified against us by previous occupancy; and we were now restricted to settle in certain places only, and under certain conditions. Our rights of fishing extended to the whole ocean; and now it was limited, and not to be exercised within certain distances of the Spanish settlements. Our right of making settlements was not, as now, a right to build huts, but to plant colonies, if we thought proper. In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered as inestimable, and had, in return, been contented with dross." "In every place in which we might settle," said Grey, "access was left for the Spaniards. Where we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort on another; and a merchant must run all the risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of an establishment, for a property which was liable to be the subject of continual dispute, and could never be placed upon a permanent footing."

As to the utility of the convention in preventing disputes in future between the two nations, Mr. Fox was wholly incredulous; and he predicted that difficulties would soon arise (as they did) from the impossibility of devising and enforcing any measures on the part of Great Britain, which could be considered "*effectual*," in checking illicit trade between British subjects and the Spanish settlements in America. "This treaty," says he, in conclusion, "reminds me of a lawyer's will, drawn by himself, with a note in the margin of a particular clause — '*This will afford room for an excellent disquisition in the Court of Chancery.*' With equal propriety, and full as much truth, might those who had extolled the late negotiation, for the occasion it had given to show the vigor and promptitude of the national resources, write in the margin of most of the articles of the convention — '*This will afford an admirable opportunity for a future display of the power and energy of Great Britain.*'"

To all these objections the ministers and their friends gave only short, general, and evasive answers. Their great majorities in both houses enabled them to dispense with arguments, and to evade the calls for information or papers relating to the transaction; and, having triumphantly carried their vote of thanks to the sovereign, they were left at liberty to execute the new engagements, according to their own construction, for which they had certainly provided themselves with ample space.

As the convention of October, 1790, was the first diplomatic arrangement between the governments of civilized nations with regard to the north-west coast of North America, its conclusion forms an important era in the history of that part of the world. On examining its stipulations, we shall see that they were calculated to produce very few and slight changes in any way, and that those changes were not, upon the whole, disadvantageous to the real interests of Spain. The exclusive navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the sovereignty of the vacant territories of America bordering upon them, were claimed by Spain, only with the object of preventing other nations from intercourse with her settlements; as her government foresaw that such intercourse, particularly with the British, who had for more than two centuries been striving to establish it, would be fatal to the subsistence of Spanish supremacy over those dominions. By the convention, both parties were admitted, equally, to navigate and fish in the above-

named seas ; but the British were, at the same time, specially prohibited from approaching the territories under the actual authority of Spain, and were thus debarred from the exercise of a privilege advantageous to themselves and most annoying to Spain, which they previously possessed in virtue of their maritime superiority. Both parties were by the convention equally excluded from settling on the vacant coasts of South America, and from exercising that jurisdiction which is essential to political sovereignty, over any spot north of the most northern Spanish settlement on the Pacific : but the British and the Russians were the only nations who would be likely to occupy any of those territories, and the British would not, probably, concede to the Russians any rights greater than those which they themselves possessed ; and any establishment which either of those powers might form in the north, under circumstances so disadvantageous, would be separated from the settled provinces of Spain by a region of mountains, forests, and deserts, of more than a thousand miles in extent. The convention, in fine, established new bases for the navigation and fishery of the respective parties, and their trade with the natives on the unoccupied coasts of America ; but it determined nothing regarding the rights of either to the sovereignty of any portion of America, except so far as it may imply an abrogation, or rather a suspension, of all such claims, on both sides, to any of those coasts.

It is, however, probable that the convention published, as the result of this negotiation, did not contain all the engagements contracted by Great Britain and Spain towards each other on that occasion. It was generally believed in Europe that a secret treaty of alliance was at the same time signed, by which the two nations were bound, under certain contingencies, to act together against France, with the understanding that the stipulations of the convention published should remain inoperative ; and this supposition is strengthened by the third article of the treaty of alliance between those powers, concluded on the 25th of May, 1793, setting forth that, " Their majesties having perceived just grounds of jealousy and uneasiness for the safety of their respective dominions, and for the maintenance of the general system of Europe, in the measures which have been for some time past adopted by France, *they had already agreed to establish between them an intimate and entire concert*, upon the means of opposing a sufficient barrier to those dangerous views of aggression and aggrandizement," &c.

CHAPTER X.

1790 TO 1792.

Vancouver sent by the British Government to explore the Coasts of America, and receive Possession of Lands and Buildings agreeably to the Convention with Spain — Passage of the Washington, under Kendrick, through the Strait of Fuca, in 1789 — Nootka reoccupied by the Spaniards — Voyages of Fidalgo, Quimper, Elisa, Billings, Marchand, and Malaspina — Voyages of the American Fur Traders Gray, Ingraham, and Kendrick — Discovery of the Washington Islands by Ingraham.

IN execution of the first and second articles of the convention of October, 1790, between Spain and Great Britain, commissioners were appointed on each side, who were to meet at Nootka Sound, and there to determine what lands and buildings were to be restored to the British claimants, or what amount of indemnification was to be made to them by Spain. The British government at first selected Captain Trowbridge as its agent for this purpose; but the business was afterwards committed to Captain George Vancouver, who was then about to sail on a voyage of exploration to the Pacific.

Vancouver was instructed to examine and survey the whole shores of the American continent on the Pacific, from the 35th to the 60th parallels of latitude; to ascertain particularly the number, situation, and extent of the settlements of civilized nations within these limits; and especially to acquire information as to the nature and direction of any water-passage, which might serve as a channel for commercial intercourse between that side of America and the territories on the Atlantic side occupied by British subjects. For this last-mentioned object, he was particularly to "examine the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and the 49th degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop Washington is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka."*

* Introduction to Vancouver's narrative of his voyage.

With these orders, Vancouver sailed from England in January, 1791, in the ship *Discovery*, accompanied by the brig *Chatham*, under the command of Lieutenant Robert Broughton. The instructions for his conduct as commissioner were afterwards despatched to him in the store-ship *Dædalus*.

The account of the passage of the *Washington* through the Strait of Fuca, mentioned in the instructions to Vancouver, had appeared in the "*Observations on the probable Existence of a North-West Passage*," prefixed by Meares to the narrative of his voyages, which had then been recently published at London. Meares there says, "The *Washington* entered the Straits of John de Fuca, the knowledge of which she had received from us; and, penetrating up them, entered into an extensive sea, where she steered to the northward and eastward, and had communications with the various tribes who inhabit the shores of the numerous islands that are situated at the back of Nootka Sound, and speak, with some little variation, the language of the Nootkan people. The track of this vessel is marked on the map, and is of great moment, as it is now completely ascertained that Nootka Sound and the parts adjacent are islands, and comprehended within the great northern archipelago. The sea also which is seen to the east is of great extent, and it is from this stationary point, and the most westerly parts of Hudson's Bay, that we are to form an estimate of the distance between them. The most easterly direction of the *Washington's* course is to the longitude of 237 degrees east of Greenwich. It is probable, however, that the master of that vessel did not make any astronomical observations, to give a just idea of that station; but, as we have those made by Captain Cook at Nootka Sound, we may be able to form a conjecture, somewhat approaching the truth, concerning the distance between Nootka and the easternmost station of the *Washington* in the northern archipelago; and consequently this station may be presumed to be in the longitude, or thereabout, of 237 degrees east of Greenwich." In another place, Meares speaks of the proofs brought by the *Washington*, "which sailed through a sea extending upwards of eight degrees of latitude," in support of his opinion, that the north-western portion of America was a collection of islands: and in the chart annexed, "*the sketch of the track of the American sloop Washington in the autumn of 1789*," is represented by those words running in a semi-oval line from the southern entrance of the Strait of Fuca, at Cape Flattery, eastward, to the longitude of 237 degrees, then north-westward, to the 55th parallel of latitude, then west-

ward, through the passage north of Queen Charlotte's Island, to the Pacific. The sea through which the track extends is represented as unlimited in the east, and communicating, in the west, with the Pacific by channels between islands: no pretension to accuracy is, however, made in this part of the chart, the object being merely to show that the *Washington* sailed from the southern entrance of the strait eastward to the longitude of 237 degrees, and northward to the latitude of 55 degrees.

The name of the person under whose command the passage was said to have been effected is not given; but, Gray being frequently mentioned by Meares, in his narrative and accompanying papers, as the captain of the *Washington*, it was naturally supposed that, *if that sloop did pass through the strait, she must have done so under the command of Gray*; and when Vancouver, who met Gray near Nootka in 1792, as will be hereafter related, was assured by him *that he had entered the opening, but had only advanced fifty miles within it*, the entire erroneousness of the account given by Meares was regarded as established.

However, about the time of Vancouver's departure from England, an angry discussion was carried on through the medium of pamphlets, between Meares, and Dixon the captain of the ship *Queen Charlotte*, (one of the vessels sent to the Pacific by the King George's Sound Company of London,) in consequence of the severe remarks made by Meares, in his work, on the character of Dixon, and on many parts of his journal, which had been published in 1789. Dixon, in his first pamphlet,* particularly attacked and ridiculed the account given by his opponent of the passage of the *Washington*, and sneeringly summoned him to "inform the public from what authority he had introduced the track of that vessel into his chart." To this Meares, in his Answer,† says, "Mr. Neville, a gentleman of the most respectable character, who came home in the *Chesterfield*, a ship in the service of the East India Company, made that communication to me which I have communicated to the public. Mr. Kendrick, who commanded the *Washington*, arrived at China, with a very valuable cargo of furs, previous to the departure of the *Chesterfield*; and Mr. Neville, who was

* Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, in a Letter to that Gentleman, by George Dixon, late Commander of the *Queen Charlotte* in a Voyage around the World. London, 1790.

† An Answer to Mr. George Dixon, &c., by John Meares; in which the Remarks of Mr. Dixon are fully considered and refuted. London, 1791.

continually with him during that interval, and received the particulars of the track from him, was so obliging as to state it to me."

Thus it appears that the passage of the *Washington* through the strait, as reported by Meares, took place under Kendrick, after Gray had quitted the command of that sloop. This explanation was published in London subsequent to the departure of Vancouver for the Pacific; and, the discussion between Meares and Dixon being on matters in which the public could have taken little or no interest, it was doubtless forgotten, and their pamphlets were out of circulation, long before the return of the navigator to England.

With regard to the truth or falsehood of the account, no information has been obtained, in addition to that afforded by Meares; and, although little dependence can be placed on his statements, when unsupported by other evidence, yet they should not be rejected in this case, because — *first*, he had no interest in ascribing any thing meritorious to citizens of the United States, whom he uniformly mentions with contempt or dislike in his work, and accuses of taking part with the Spaniards against his vessels; — *secondly*, the subject was one with which he was perfectly conversant, and on which he would not probably have been deceived, or have committed any error of judgment; and, — *lastly*, the geography of that part of the American coasts corresponds exactly with the descriptions given by Kendrick of what he had seen, though the inferences drawn from them by Meares are incorrect. Thus the easternmost part of the Strait of Fuca is now known to be in the meridian of $237\frac{1}{2}$ degrees east from Greenwich, and under the parallel of $48\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, from the intersection of which lines the coast of the continent runs north-westward, through ten degrees of latitude, penetrated by numerous inlets, and bordered by thousands of islands; so that a navigator, sailing along this coast, without tracing to their terminations all these channels and inlets, might well have supposed himself in a sea extending far on either side, and filled with islands.

Under these circumstances, Kendrick is to be considered as the first person, belonging to a civilized nation, who sailed through the Strait of Fuca, after its discovery by the Greek pilot, in 1592.

Vancouver did not reach the north-west coasts of America until March, 1792. In the mean time, the Spaniards had resumed their position at Nootka Sound, and formed another establishment in its vicinity; and several voyages of discovery had been made by their navigators along those coasts. The Spanish government was,

indeed, then seriously directing its attention to the discovery and occupation of the territories north of its settlements in California, agreeably to the plan devised in 1765, and with the same object of preventing those territories from falling into the possession of other nations; and, for these purposes, the viceroy of Mexico was directed to employ every means at his disposal. Martinez was, indeed, deprived of his command, immediately on his arrival in San Blas, in December, 1789: but his vessels, including the *Princess Royal*, which had been taken from the English in the preceding summer, were sent back to Nootka Sound, under Captain Francisco Elisa, in the spring of 1790; and preparations were immediately begun for a permanent establishment on Friendly Cove.

As soon as the first arrangements for this purpose were completed, Elisa despatched Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, in the schooner *San Carlos*, to examine the coasts occupied by the Russians, and inquire into the proceedings of that nation in America. Fidalgo accordingly sailed for Prince William's Sound, in which, and in Cook's River, he spent nearly three months, engaged in surveying and in visiting the Russian establishments; his provisions being then exhausted, he took his departure for San Blas, where he arrived on the 14th of November. The geographical information obtained by him was scanty; and the only news which he brought back, respecting the proceedings of the Russians, was, that they had formed an establishment on Prince William's Sound, and that a ship had passed that bay from Kamtchatka, on an exploring expedition towards the east.*

The Russian ship, thus mentioned by Fidalgo, was one of those which had been begun at Ochotsk in 1785, by order of the empress Catharine, for a † "secret astronomical and geographical expedition, to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and describe its coasts, and to ascertain the situation of the islands in the sea between the continents of Asia and America." For this expedition, a number of officers and men of science, from various parts of Europe, were engaged; and the command was intrusted to Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook, in his last expedition, as assistant astronomer: but the preparations proceeded so slowly, in consequence of the want of every thing requisite for the purpose at

* Manuscript journal of the voyage of Fidalgo, among the documents obtained from the hydrographical department of Madrid.

† Narrative of the Russian expedition under Billings, by Martin Sauer.

Ochotsk, that the vessels were not ready for sea until 1789, and then one of them was wrecked immediately after leaving the port. With the other vessel Billings took his departure, on the 2d of May, 1790, and sailed eastward, stopping, in his way, at Unalashka, Kodiak, and Prince William's Sound, as far as Mount St. Elias; but there his provisions began to fail, and he returned to Petropawlowsk, soon after reaching which he abandoned the command of the enterprise. In the following year, the same vessel, with another, which had been built in Kamtchatka, quitted the Bay of Avatscha, under Captains Hall and Sarytscheff, neither of whom advanced beyond Bering's Strait on the north, or Aliaska on the east, or collected any information of value within those limits. A melancholy picture of the sufferings experienced in these vessels has been presented in the narrative of Martin Sauer, a German, who, in an unlucky moment, agreed to act as secretary to the expedition: another account, contradicting that of Sauer in many particulars, has been published by Sarytscheff, who attributes the failure of the enterprise to the incapacity of Billings.

In the summer of 1790, an attempt was also made, by the Spaniards, to explore the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca. For that purpose, Elisa, the commandant of Nootka, detached Lieutenant Quimper, in the sloop *Princess Royal*, who traced the passage in an eastwardly direction, examining both its shores, to the distance of about a hundred miles from its mouth, where it was observed to branch off into a number of smaller passages, towards the south, the east, and the north, some of which were channels between islands, while others appeared to extend far into the interior. Quimper was unable, from want of time, to penetrate any of these passages; and he could do no more than note the positions of their entrances, and of several harbors, all of which are now well known, though they are generally distinguished by names different from those assigned to them by the Spaniards. Among these passages and harbors were the *Canal de Caamano*, afterwards named by Vancouver *Admiralty Inlet*; the *Boca de Flon*, or *Deception Passage*; the *Canal de Guemes*, and *Canal de Haro*, which may still be found under those names in English charts, extending northward from the eastern end of the strait; *Port Quadra*, the *Port Discovery* of Vancouver, said to be one of the best harbors on the Pacific side of America, with *Port Quimper*, near it on the west; and *Port Nuñez Gaona*, called *Poverty Cove* by the American fur traders, situated a few miles east of Cape

Flattery, where the Spaniards attempted, in 1792, to form a settlement. Having performed this duty as well as was possible under the circumstances in which he was placed, Quimper returned to Nootka, where he arrived in the beginning of August.*

On the 2d of June, 1791, Captain Alexandro Malaspina,† an accomplished Italian navigator in the service of Spain, who was then engaged in an expedition of survey and discovery in the Pacific, arrived on the coast, near Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, with his two ships, the *Descubierta*, commanded by himself, and the *Atrevida*, under Captain Bustamente. The principal object of their visit was to determine the question as to the existence of the Strait of Anian, described in the account of Maldonado's pretended voyage, the credibility of which had been, in the preceding year, affirmed, by the French geographer Buache, in a memoir read before the Academy of Sciences of Paris. With this view, they carefully examined the coast between Prince William's Sound and Mount Fairweather, running nearly in the direction of the 60th parallel, under-which Maldonado had placed the entrance of his strait into the Pacific, searching the various bays and inlets which there open to the sea, particularly that called by the English Admiralty Bay, situated at the foot of Mount St. Elias. They found, however,—doubtless to their satisfaction,—no passage leading northward or eastward from the Pacific; and they became convinced that the whole coast thus surveyed was bordered by an unbroken chain of lofty mountains. Want of time prevented them from continuing their examinations farther south; and they could only, in passing, determine the latitudes and longitudes of a few

* The journal of this voyage is among the manuscripts obtained from the hydrographical department of Madrid: annexed to it is a memoir on the manners, customs, and language, of the Indians about Nootka Sound, translated from the English of Joseph Ingraham, the mate of the American ship *Columbia*, who wrote it, at the request of Martinez, in 1789.

† The journals of Malaspina's expedition have never been published. A sketch of his voyage along the north-west coasts of America is given in the Introduction to the *Journal of Galiano and Valdes*, in which the highest, and, in some places, the most extravagant, praise is bestowed on the officers engaged in it. Yet—will it be believed?—the name of *Malaspina* does not appear there or in any other part of the book. The unfortunate commander, having given some offence to Godoy, better known as the Prince of the Peace, who then ruled Spain without restriction, was, on his return to Europe in 1794, confined in a dungeon at Corunna, and there kept as a prisoner until 1802, when he was liberated, after the peace of Amiens, at the express desire of Napoleon. The name of one who had thus sinned could not be allowed to appear on the pages of a work published officially, by the Spanish government, for the purpose of vindicating the claims of its navigators.

points between Mount San Jacinto and Nootka Sound, where they arrived on the 13th of August.

The visit made to the north-west coasts of America, in the summer of 1791, by Captain Etienne Marchand, in the French commercial ship *Solide*, from Marseilles, is only mentioned on account of the Introduction by Fleurieu to the Journal of her voyage, to which allusion has been often made in the preceding pages. Marchand landed on the shore of the Bay of Guadalupe, or Norfolk Sound, near the 56th degree of latitude, where he remained two weeks, engaged in trading with the natives; after which he sailed along the coasts southward, occasionally landing and making observations, to the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and thence took his departure for Canton.*

In the mean time, nine vessels from England and seven from the United States were engaged in the trade on the north-west coasts of America. Of the movements of the English traders few accounts have been made public: the most active and enterprising among them appears to have been Captain Brown,† of the ship *Butterworth*, from London, to whom Vancouver acknowledges himself indebted for useful information on several occasions. In what manner the British navigator treated citizens of the United States, from whom he derived information much more important, will be shown hereafter.

* Respecting the places thus visited, very little exact information is to be derived from the Journal of Marchand, though hundreds of its pages are devoted to philosophical speculations (doubtless by the editor) on the origin and capacity of the north-west American Indians, their languages and political and religious institutions, and political and religious institutions in general. The Journal, indeed, seems to have been published merely in order to afford a frame-work for the comments and disquisitions of the editor, Fleurieu, which, with all their faults, are the only parts of the work of any value.

The Introduction to this Journal is a memoir read by Fleurieu before the National Institute at Paris, in 1797, on the subject of the discovery of the north-west coasts of America, in which he presents a history, with reviews of all other accounts, of the several exploring voyages made by people of civilized nations along those coasts, from the period of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards to the year 1790, when Marchand began his voyage. For such a task, Fleurieu was well fitted, by his previous labors, his general science, and his acquaintance with geography and maritime affairs: his memoir is elegantly written, and his accounts and opinions are, for the most part, clear, fair, and liberal towards individuals and nations. This praise is, however, not to be awarded to every portion of his work. He was extravagant in generalizing, and often careless in the examination of his authorities, in consequence of which he committed numerous errors; and his devotion to his own country, and his contempt for the Spaniards and their government, led him frequently to make assertions and observations at variance with justice and truth.

† Brown was killed by the natives, at Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, in January, 1795.

The second trading adventure to the North Pacific made by citizens of the United States was that of Captain Metcalf, who sailed from New York in 1788, in the brig *Eleonora*, for Canton, and there purchased a small schooner, which he named the *Fair American*, and placed under the command of his son, a youth of eighteen. With these vessels he arrived, in November, 1789, at Nootka Sound, where the schooner was seized by the Spanish commandant Martinez; but she was soon liberated, unfortunately, as it proved, for her captain and crew. On their way from the American coast, the vessels were separated. The *Eleonora*, on the 30th of January, 1790, reached a small bay in Mowee, one of the Sandwich Islands, where she anchored; and, on the same night, her boat, and a seaman who was sleeping in it, were taken away by the natives. On the following day, the islanders began to assemble in the bay in canoes, and on the shores, in great numbers, armed, and showing evidently the intention to take the vessel; and one of them was seized in the act of endeavoring to strip off a piece of her copper, under the idea, as he confessed, that she would in consequence sink. The natives becoming more daring, Metcalf fired on them with grape, and burnt their village; and, having thus apparently quieted them, he went farther up the bay, in order to obtain water. Three or four days afterwards, a native came on board, who offered to bring back the boat and the sailor for a certain reward; his offer was accepted, and, on the following day, he reappeared with the rudder of the boat and some of the bones of the man, who had been sacrificed to the gods of the island, and coolly demanded the promised recompense. This demand was granted, with a view to conciliation; but the opposite effect was produced: for the islanders, supposing that they had intimidated the Americans, again surrounded the ship in their canoes in vast numbers. Metcalf thereupon, either from exasperation, or from his seeing no other mode of safety, fired all his guns, charged with grape and nails, among them, and killed, as was said, more than one hundred and fifty; after which he sailed for Owyhee, and anchored in Karakakooa Bay.*

* The account of these transactions is taken principally from a letter written by a person on board of the *Eleonora*, which was published in the newspapers of the United States soon after the occurrences; and from the manuscript journal of Captain Ingraham, which confirms all the statements of the letter writer. Vancouver (vol. ii. p. 136) represents the affair as disadvantageously to the Americans as possible, according to his constant practice. Jarvis, in his *History of the Sandwich Islands*, gives the account as handed down by the natives, holding Metcalf up to view as a monster of cruelty, and the capture of the *Fair American* as "an awful retribution."

While the *Eleonora* was lying in this bay, the natives of Owyhee signally avenged the slaughter of their brethren at Mowee.

On the 5th of February, the schooner *Fair American*, which had been separated from the brig, anchored in the Bay of Toyahyah, (now called *Kawaihae*,) on the north-west side of Owyhee, about thirty miles north of Karakakooa Bay, where trade was begun with the natives. As these people conducted themselves peaceably, they were allowed to come on board the vessel without restriction; at length, a chief named Tamaahmoto, or Kamamoko, appeared, with a number of attendants, to present the captain with a feather cap, and while in the act of placing this ornament on young Metcalf's head, he seized him and threw him overboard, where he was immediately killed; the other seamen, with the exception of one, were in like manner despatched, and the schooner was then drawn on shore and rifled. There is no reason to believe that this was done in consequence of the proceedings of the captain of the *Eleonora* at Mowee, or, indeed, that those proceedings were known at Owyhee when the schooner was taken; on the contrary, Tamaahmoto, in 1794, assured Vancouver that he was induced to act as he did, by the ill-treatment of Metcalf, who had whipped him severely when at Toyahyah, in 1789.

A plan was, at the same time, formed by Tianna and Tamahamaha, the principal chiefs of the island, to take the *Eleonora*. The boatswain of that brig, named John Young, happened, however, to be on shore, and there met with two English seamen, from whom he received information of the plan; and they succeeded in prevailing on Tamahamaha to allow them to write a letter to Captain Metcalf, urging his immediate departure, on condition that they should enter the service of the native chief. Metcalf took their advice, and sailed away without learning the news of his son's fate. Young also succeeded in saving the life of Isaac Davis, the mate of the *Fair American*, who had been severely wounded at the time of the capture of that schooner; and these two men remained in the service of Tamahamaha until their deaths.*

The ship *Columbia* returned to Boston from Canton, under the command of Gray, on the 10th of August, 1790, as already mentioned: but the cargo of Chinese articles brought by her was insufficient to cover the expenses of her voyage; and her owners were

* Davis died in 1808. Young was, for many years, governor of Woahoo, and died in 1836, nearly ninety years old: for an anecdote illustrative of his character, see Commodore Porter's *Journal of his Cruise in the Pacific*, vol. ii. p. 215.

so little satisfied with these results, that some of them sold out their shares to the others, who, determining to persevere in the enterprise, refitted the *Columbia* for a new voyage of the same kind. Before her departure, however, the brig *Hope*, of seventy tons, which had also been equipped for the North Pacific trade, sailed from Boston, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the *Columbia*; and these vessels were followed by the *Hancock*, under Captain Crowel, and the *Jefferson*, under Captain Roberts, likewise from Boston, and the *Margaret*, under Captain Mägee, from New York. A short notice of Ingraham's voyage will be first presented.

The brig *Hope* quitted Boston on the 16th of September, 1790, and, taking the usual course by the Cape Verd Islands and Brazil, she arrived on the 13th of January, 1791, at the entrance of Berkeley Sound, or Port Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, where she found a Spanish establishment on the shore, and a Spanish vessel of war in the harbor.* Ingraham was anxious to visit the establishment, but the commandant was unwilling to allow him to do so, though he furnished him liberally with provisions. Quitting the Falkland Islands, Ingraham doubled Cape Horn, and, on the 19th of April, he discovered six islands previously unknown, in the centre of the Pacific Ocean, between the 8th and the 10th parallels of latitude,† to which he gave the names severally of *Washington*, *Adams*, *Franklin*, *Knox*, *Federal*, and *Lincoln*; and after some days

* Manuscript journal of the *Hope's* voyage, written by Ingraham.

† These islands are situated a little north of the group called the *Marquesas de Mendoza*, discovered by the Spanish navigator Mendana, in 1595, and about six hundred miles north-east of Otaheite, directly in the course of vessels sailing from Cape Horn to the north-west coast of America, or to China, to which they offer convenient places for obtaining water and other refreshments. They were not seen by Cook, who visited the *Marquesas* in 1774; nor does any notice of them appear on any chart or account of earlier date than 1791, when they were discovered by Ingraham; as above stated. They were afterwards seen successively, on the 21st of June, 1791, by Marchand, in the French ship *Solide*, who named them *Iles de la Révolution*; on the 30th of June, 1792, by Hergest, in the British brig *Dædalus*, after whom Vancouver called them *Hergest's Islands*, though he was well aware of their previous discovery by Ingraham; and on the 6th of March, 1793, by Roberts, in the *Jefferson*, from Boston, who bestowed on them the name of *Washington's Islands*. The earliest notice of them was published in the form of an extract from Ingraham's Journal, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, at Boston, in 1793: the volume of the same work, for 1795, contains Roberts's account of his visit, after which appeared, in succession, the accounts of Hergest in Vancouver's Journal, and of Marchand; and they have since been visited and described by Krusenstern, Lisiansky, Langedorf, Porter, Belcher, Wilkes, and other navigators. Porter, during his cruise in the Pacific, in the *Essex*, in 1813, remained some time at Nooahivah, the largest of the islands. The recent occupation of this group by the French is well known.

spent in examining them, he took his course for Owyhee, where he arrived on the 20th of May.

At Owyhee, the Hope was visited by Tamahamaha, whose power was then rapidly increasing, as well as by his rival Tianna ; and both these chiefs were earnest in their solicitations that Ingraham should go on shore and visit their towns. The American captain, however, feeling some distrust, did not think it prudent to leave his vessel ; and, after obtaining some provisions and water, he sailed to the adjacent Island of Mowee, where he received from two white men, who escaped to the Hope, the news of the capture of the schooner Fair American, and the murder of her crew at Owyhee, in February of the preceding year. He then had reason to congratulate himself at having resisted the invitations of Tamahamaha and Tianna, as he had no doubt that he and his vessel and crew would otherwise have been sacrificed to their hatred or cupidity. At Mowee, on the 26th, the brig was honored by the presence of Titeree, or Kahikili, the king, and Taio, a principal chief ; and Ingraham obtained from them the liberation of an American seaman, who had been, for some time, detained as prisoner in the island. On the following day, at Woahoo, the natives surrounded the vessel in their canoes, to the number of many thousands, evidently with the intention of taking her ; and it became necessary to fire several muskets upon them before she could be freed from the danger.

On the 1st of June, Ingraham left the Sandwich Islands, and on the 29th of the same month he dropped anchor in a harbor on the south-east side of Queen Charlotte's, or Washington's, Island, to which he gave the name of *Magee's Sound*, in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. On the coasts of this island, and of the other islands, and the continent adjacent on the north and east, he spent the summer in trading, and collecting information as to the geography and natural history, and the languages, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants, on all which subjects his journal contains minute and interesting details ; and at the end of the season he took his departure for China, where he arrived on the 1st of December, 1791.

At Macao, Ingraham found the French ship Solide, under Captain Marchand, whose visit to the north-west coast of America, in the preceding summer, has been already mentioned ; and he received much kindness, which he acknowledges by grateful expressions in his journal, from Roblet, the surgeon, and Chanal, the first

officer of that vessel. To these gentlemen he also communicated the particulars of his voyage; and thus they learned, to their great regret, that they had been anticipated, by the American captain, in a discovery which was expected by them to cast considerable *éclat* on their expedition. Marchand had, in the month of June previous, seen a group of islands in the centre of the Pacific Ocean, of which he believed himself to be the discoverer, as they were not described in any narrative or chart then published; and, under this impression, he named them *Iles de la Révolution*, and had just sent an account of them to France, which was submitted formally to the National Assembly: on examining the journal of the Hope, however, he could have no doubt that this was the same group which had been found by Ingraham in April; and the fact is admitted, though with evident reluctance, in the narrative of his voyage.*

Captain Kendrick, in the *Washington*, which had been altered into a brig, also arrived at Macao while the *Hope* was lying there. He had been engaged, since 1789, in various speculations, one of which was the collection and transportation to China of the odoriferous wood called *sandal*, which grows in many of the tropical islands of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the Celestial Empire. Vancouver pronounced this scheme chimerical; but experience has proved that it was founded on just calculations, and the business has been ever since prosecuted with advantage, especially by the Americans.

Another of Kendrick's speculations has not hitherto produced any fruit. In the summer of 1791, he purchased from Maquinna, Wicanish, and other chiefs, several large tracts of land near Nootka Sound, for which he obtained deeds duly *marked* by those personages, and witnessed by the officers and men of the *Washington*. Attempts were made, by the owners of that vessel, to sell these lands at London in 1793, but no purchasers were found; and applications have since been addressed, by the legal representatives of the owners and of Kendrick, to the government of the United

* The editor, Fleurieu, thus *ingeniously* concludes the discussion as to the first discovery of the islands: "Captain Marchand undoubtedly cannot aspire to the honor of priority; but, like the American captain who preceded him, he has not, on that account, the less pretension to the honor of the discovery; for he could not know, in the month of June, 1791, while he was navigating the great ocean, that, a month before, another navigator, standing in the same course with himself, had made the same discovery." The king of the French has nevertheless been pleased to bestow a gold medal on one of the surviving owners of the *Solide*, on the ground of the discovery of those islands by Marchand, as expressly declared in the report of his minister of marine, published in the *Moniteur* of May 25th, 1843.

States, for a confirmation of the title.* That the lands were thus sold by the savage chiefs, there is no reason to doubt; and Maquinna or Wicanish would as readily have conveyed the whole of America to any one for the consideration of a copper kettle: but the validity of the acquisition will scarcely be recognized by the civilized nation which may hereafter hold the sovereignty of the country about Nootka Sound. Neither Kendrick nor his vessel ever returned to America: he was killed, in 1793, at Karakakooa Bay, in Owyhee, by a ball accidentally fired from a British vessel, while saluting him.

At Canton, Ingraham disposed of his furs advantageously, and vested the proceeds in teas, which he sent to Boston by a vessel chartered for the purpose. He then sailed, on the 3d of April, for the north-west coasts of America, and spent the summer in trading in and about Queen Charlotte's Island, which was then the principal resort of the Americans.

The Columbia, under her former captain, Gray, left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, ten days after the departure of the Hope; † and, without the occurrence of any thing worthy of note on her way, she arrived at Clioquot, near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, on the 5th of June, 1791. Thence she proceeded, in a few days, to the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Island, on which, and on the coasts of the continent and islands in its vicinity, she remained until September, engaged in trading and exploring. During this time, Gray examined many of the inlets and passages between the 54th and the 56th parallels, in one of which — most probably the same afterwards called by Vancouver the *Portland*

* The circular addressed by the owners of the Washington, on this occasion, is a curious document. It is written in four languages, and is couched in terms the most unspecific which could have been selected. The "*inhabitants of Europe*" are informed that, "in 1787, Captain J. Kendrick, while prosecuting an advantageous voyage with the natives for furs, purchased of them, for the owners, a tract of delightful country, comprehending four degrees of latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square;" and that "such as may be inclined to associate, for settling a commonwealth on their own code of laws, on a spot of the globe nowhere surpassed in delightful and healthy climate, and fertile soil, claimed by no civilized nation, and purchased, under a sacred treaty of peace and commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise." Of the situation of this tract of delightful country we learn nothing from the circular, except that it lies in America. The deeds for the lands are declared to have been registered in the office of the American consul at Macao; and these deeds, or some of them, have been lately published, referring only to the territories about Nootka Sound, which, though including all the dominions of the chiefs conveying them, do not amount to one twenty-fourth part of two hundred and forty miles square.

† Log-book of the Columbia, from September 28th, 1790, to February 20th, 1792.

Canal — he penetrated from its entrance, in the latitude of 54 degrees 33 minutes, to the distance of a hundred miles north-eastward, without reaching its termination. This inlet he supposed to be the *Rio de Reyes* of Admiral Fonté; a part of it was named by him *Massacre Cove*, in commemoration of the murder of Caswell, the second mate, and two seamen of his vessel, by the natives, on its shore, on the 22d of August. Shortly after this melancholy occurrence, the *Columbia* fell in with the *Hope*, and the two captains communicated to each other, though apparently with some reserve, the results of their observations. They then separated, Ingraham going to China, as above related, while Gray returned to *Clyoquot*.

At *Clyoquot*, the crew of the *Columbia* passed the winter in a fortified habitation, which they erected on the shore of the bay, and called *Fort Defiance*; and they were employed in building a small vessel, which was launched, and named the *Adventure*. Whilst preparing for sea, they were visited by *Tatoocheatticus* and *Wicanish*, the principal chiefs of the surrounding country, with a number of followers, between whom and a Sandwich Islander on board the *Columbia* it soon became evident that some understanding had been established. Gray's suspicions being excited, he questioned the Sandwich Islander, who at length confessed that the Indians had formed a plan for the seizure of the vessels, and the murder of their crews, and had promised to spare his life, and make him a chief, if he would aid them by wetting the priming of all the guns at a particular time. Thus forewarned, the Americans were on their guard; and the savages, who surrounded the vessel on the following day, were kept at a distance.

In the spring of 1792, the *Adventure* sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island, under the command of Haswell, the first mate of the *Columbia*; and Gray took his departure in the ship, on a cruise southward along the coasts of the continent, the particulars of which will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

1792 to 1796.

Vancouver and Broughton arrive on the American Coasts in 1792, and meet with Gray, who informs them of his Discovery of the Columbia River — The Strait of Fuca surveyed by Vancouver, Galiano, and Valdes — Negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra at Nootka — Vancouver's Injustice to the Americans — Broughton's Examination of the lower Part of the Columbia River — Vancouver's Proceedings at the Sandwich Islands — He completes the Survey of the North-West Coasts of America, and returns to England — The Spaniards abandon Nootka — Conclusions with Regard to the Dispute between Great Britain and Spain, and the Convention of 1790.

THE viceroy of Mexico, count de Revillagigedo, on learning the results of the voyages of Fidalgo, Quimper, and Malaspina, along the north-west coasts of America, ordered three other vessels to be prepared, for continuing the exploration of those coasts. In one of them, the corvette Aransasu, Lieutenant Jacinto Caamano was directed to seek, particularly near the 53d degree of latitude, for the mouth of the *Rio de Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed, in 1640, north-eastward, into a lake communicating with the Atlantic; while Lieutenants Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes were to survey the Strait of Fuca, in the small schooners Sutil and Mexicana. These vessels sailed from San Blas in the spring of 1792, and arrived in May at Nootka Sound, whence they soon after departed on their respective expeditions.*

Captain Bodega y Quadra, the superintendent of the marine department of San Blas, was at the same time despatched to Nootka, to take the command of the forces in that quarter, and to treat with Captain Vancouver, who was expected to arrive there in the following summer, with regard to the lands and buildings claimed by British subjects, in virtue of the first and second articles of the convention of 1790. He was instructed, in case it should

* The works which have served principally as authorities for the accounts in this chapter are — the journal of Captain George Vancouver, three vols. 4to., published at London in 1797 — the journal of Galiano and Valdes — and the manuscript journal of the voyage of the American brig Hope, written by her captain, J. Ingraham — with others, to which reference will be made

be requisite, to abandon Nootka, and withdraw all the Spanish forces and settlers to some convenient point of the coast farther south; and, in anticipation of such a contingency, a vessel was sent from San Blas, under the command of Fidalgo, to seek for a proper spot, and make preparations on it for a permanent establishment.

Vancouver and Broughton reached the American coast in April, 1792, a little south of Cape Mendocino, whence they sailed slowly northward, to the Strait of Fuca, which they were instructed particularly to explore. On their way, they carefully examined the shores, and determined the geographical positions of all the most prominent points, comparing the results of their observations with those obtained by Cook and others who had preceded them. Near the 43d degree of latitude, they sought in vain for the river which Martin de Aguilar was said to have seen, entering the Pacific thereabouts, in 1603; and they appeared inclined to admit as identical with the Cape Blanco of that navigator, a high, whitish promontory, in the latitude of 42 degrees 52 minutes, to which they, however, did not scruple to assign the name of *Cape Orford*.

Vancouver also observed with attention the Deception Bay of Meares, which was represented on Spanish charts as the mouth of a river. Of this part of his voyage, he presents the following account in his journal, under date of

"April 27th. — Noon brought us up with a conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent, nor did it seem to be accessible for vessels of our burden, as the breakers extended from the above point, two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach, nearly four leagues farther south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first inclined to believe it was Cape Shoalwater; but, on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment, and the opening south of it Deception Bay. This cape we found to be in latitude of 46 degrees 19 minutes, longitude 236 degrees 6 minutes [east]. The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water, the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the opening north of it, through the low land. *Not considering this opening worthy of more attention*, I continued our pursuit to the north-west, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coasts."

Vancouver accordingly sailed onwards, to the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, which he was eager to explore; having, as he believed, ascertained that "the several large rivers and capacious inlets, that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific, between the 40th and the 48th degrees of north latitude, were reduced to *brooks insufficient for our vessels to navigate, or to bays inaccessible as harbors for refitting.*" Again he says, "Considering ourselves now on the point of commencing an examination of an entirely new region, I cannot take leave of the coast already known, without obtruding a short remark on that part of the continent, comprehending a space of nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, on which our inquiries had been lately employed, *under the most fortunate and favorable circumstances of wind and weather. So minutely has this extensive coast been inspected, that the surf has been constantly seen to break on its shores from the mast-head; and it was but in a few small intervals only where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. Whenever the weather prevented our making free with the shore, or on our hauling off for the night, the return of fine weather and of daylight uniformly brought us, if not to the identical spot we had departed from, at least within a few miles of it, and never beyond the northern limits of the coast which we had previously seen. An examination so directed, and circumstances happily concurring to permit its being so executed, afforded the most complete opportunity of determining its various turnings and windings, as also the position of all its conspicuous points, ascertained by meridional altitudes for the latitude, and observations for the chronometer, which we had the good fortune to make constantly once, and in general twice, every day, the preceding one only excepted. It must be considered a very singular circumstance, that, in so great an extent of sea-coast, we should not until now have seen the appearance of any opening in its shore which presented any certain prospect of affording a shelter, the whole coast forming one compact and nearly straight barrier against the sea.*"

On the same day, the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver writes in his journal, "At four o'clock, a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months. She soon hoisted American colors, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her; she proved to be the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months. Having little doubt of his being the same

person who had formerly commanded the sloop *Washington*, I desired he would bring to, and sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies on board, to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations. On the return of the boat, we found our conjectures had not been ill grounded; that this was the same gentleman who had commanded the sloop *Washington*, at the time, we are informed, she had made a very singular voyage behind Nootka. It was not a little remarkable, that, on our approach to the entrance of this inland sea, we should fall in with the identical person who, it was said, had sailed through it. His relation, however, differed very materially from that published in England. It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*; in contradiction to which, he assured the officers that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits in question, in an east-south-east direction; that he found the passage five leagues wide, and that he understood from the natives that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired respecting this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at. The inlet he supposed to be the same that De Fuca had discovered, which opinion seemed to be universally received by all the modern visitors. He likewise informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the 27th, and was apparently inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it. He had also entered another inlet to the northward, in latitude of 54½ degrees, in which he had sailed to the latitude of 56 degrees, without discovering its termination. The south point of entrance into De Fuca's Straits he stated to be in 49 degrees 24 minutes; and he conceived our distance from it to be about eight leagues. The last winter he had spent in Port Cox, or, as the natives call it, *Clyoquot*, from whence he had sailed but a few days," &c.

The part of this account relating to the Strait of Fuca appears to have been received with much satisfaction by Vancouver, as it seemed to assure him that he had not been anticipated in the exploration of that passage; to Gray's statement of his discovery of a river emptying into the Pacific, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10

minutes, he gave little, or rather no credit, being content with his own examination of that part of the coast. On the day after his meeting with the *Columbia*, he writes, "The river mentioned by Mr. Gray should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed in the forenoon of the 27th; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and *inaccessible to vessels of our burden, owing to the reefs and broken water*, which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which, at length, he was unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as, in most cases where there are outlets of such strength on a sea-coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, *I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping, on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet*, [Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca;] nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports."

Having thus recorded his convictions, the British navigator proceeded to survey the Strait of Fuca; whilst the American fur trader sailed towards the mouth of the river, into which he resolved, if possible, to effect an entrance.

After parting with the English ships, Gray sailed along the coast of the continent to the south, and, on the 7th of May, he "saw an entrance which had a very good appearance of a harbor," in the latitude of 46 degrees 58 minutes. Passing through this entrance, he found himself in a bay "well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits," where he remained at anchor three days, engaged in trading with the natives; and he then resumed his voyage, bestowing on the place thus discovered the name of *Bulfinch's Harbor*, in honor of one of the owners of his ship.

At daybreak on the 11th, after leaving Bulfinch's Harbor, Gray observed "the entrance of his desired port, bearing east-south-east, distant six leagues;" and running into it, with all sails set, between the breakers, (which Meares and Vancouver pronounce impassable,) he anchored, at one o'clock, "*in a large river of fresh water*," ten

miles above its mouth. At this spot he remained three days, engaged in trading and filling his casks with water, and then sailed up the river about twelve or fifteen miles along its northern shore; where, finding that he could proceed no farther, from having "taken the wrong channel," he again came to anchor. During the week which followed, he made several attempts to quit the river, but was constantly baffled, until, at length, on the 20th, he crossed the bar at the mouth, by beating over it with a westerly wind, and regained the Pacific.*

On leaving the river, Gray gave to it the name of his ship—the *Columbia*—which it still bears; though attempts are made to fix upon it that of *Oregon*, on the strength of the accounts which Carver pretended to have collected, in 1766, among the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, respecting a *River Oregon, rising near Lake Superior, and emptying into the Strait of Anian.*† The extremity of the sand-bank, projecting into the sea on the south side of its entrance, was called by Gray *Point Adams*; and he assigned the name of *Cape Hancock* to the opposite promontory, on the north side, being ignorant that Meares had already called it *Cape Disappointment*, in token of the unsuccessful result of his search for the river.

The principal circumstances relating to the discovery of this river, the greatest which enters the Pacific from America, have now been fairly presented. It has been shown—that the opening through which its waters are discharged into the ocean was first seen in August, 1776, by the Spanish navigator Heceta,‡ and was distinguished on Spanish charts, within the thirteen years next following, as the mouth of the *River San Roque*—that it was examined in July, 1788, by Meares,§ who quitted it with the conviction that no river existed there—and that this opinion of Meares was subscribed, without qualification, by Vancouver, after he had minutely examined that coast, "*under the most favorable conditions of wind and weather,*" and notwithstanding the assurances of Gray to the contrary. Had Gray, after parting with the English ships, not returned to the river, and ascended it as he did, there is every reason to believe that it would have long remained unknown; for the assertions of Vancouver that *no opening, harbor, or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the*

* See the extract from the log-book of the *Columbia*, containing the account of the entrance of Gray into the river, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter E, No. 2.

† See p. 142.

‡ See p. 120.

§ See p. 177.

Strait of Fuca, and that *this part of the coast formed one compact, solid, and nearly straight, barrier against the sea*, would have served completely to overthrow the evidence of the American fur trader, and to prevent any further attempts to examine those shores, or even to approach them.*

From the mouth of the Columbia River, Gray sailed to the east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, near which his ship struck on a rock, and was so much injured that she was with difficulty kept afloat until she reached Nootka Sound, where the damage was repaired. The *Hope* also arrived at Nootka at this time, and Gray communicated the particulars of his recent discoveries to Ingraham, and to the Spanish commandant Quadra, to whom he also gave charts and descriptions of Bulfinch's Harbor, and of the mouth of the Columbia. On this occasion, moreover, the two American captains addressed to Quadra, at his request, a letter† containing a narrative of the transactions at Nootka in 1789, to which particular reference will be hereafter made. Having soon completed their business on the north-west coasts, Gray and Ingraham departed severally for Canton, in September, and thence they sailed to the United States.‡

* It was, nevertheless, insisted, on the part of the British government, in a discussion with the United States, in 1826, that *the merit of discovering the Columbia belongs to Meares!* "that, in 1788, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River, Mr. Meares, a lieutenant of the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coast of America, had already minutely explored the coast from the 49th to the 54th degree of north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca in the name of his sovereign; had purchased land, trafficked and formed treaties with the natives; and had actually entered the Bay of the Columbia, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment, a name which it bears to this day;" and that "if any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain, on a basis too firm to be shaken. It must indeed be admitted," continue the British plenipotentiaries, "that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, *was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river—a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when, in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay.*" The truth in the last of these assertions atones for the errors in those which precede, and counteracts the impression which the whole was intended to produce.—See the statement presented by Messrs. Huskisson and Addington to Mr. Gallatin, in 1826, among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter G.

† See *Proofs and Illustrations*, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter C.

‡ Ingraham subsequently entered the navy of the United States as a lieutenant, and was one of the officers of the ill-fated brig *Pickering*, of which nothing was ever heard, after her departure from the Delaware in August, 1800. Gray continued to command trading vessels from Boston until 1809, about which time he died.

In the mean time, the survey of the Strait of Fuca had been completed.

Vancouver and Broughton took their departure on the 1st of May, as already mentioned, from Cape Flattery, the point at the south side of the entrance of the Strait, and thence sailed slowly along the coast eastward, about a hundred miles, to its extremity in that direction, where they entered a harbor called by them *Port Discovery*, the same which had, in 1790, received from Quimper the name of *Port Quadra*. A little beyond this harbor, they found another opening in the coast towards the south, corresponding with that called by Quimper *Canal de Caamano*, through which they entered an extensive arm of the sea, with several branches, stretching in various southerly directions, to the distance of more than a hundred miles from the strait. This great arm, called *Admiralty Inlet*, with its principal branches, *Hood's Canal* on the west, *Possession Sound* on the east, and *Puget's Sound*, the southernmost, were carefully surveyed to their respective terminations; and the navigators, having thus ascertained that no passage through the continent was to be effected by those channels, returned to the strait. Of the beauty and apparent fertility of the country surrounding this arm of the sea, Vancouver speaks in glowing terms. The surface near the shores was generally undulating, presenting a succession of meadows, lawns, and hillocks, many of which were covered with noble forests of oak; "the soil principally consisted of a rich, black, vegetable mould, lying on a sandy or clayey substratum; the grass, of excellent quality, grew to the height of three feet, and the ferns, which, in the sandy soils, occupied the clear spots, were nearly twice as high." In the distance, on the east, the south, and the west, the view was bounded by lofty mountains, to the stupendous peaks of which Vancouver assigned the names of British admirals and diplomatists.

After completing this part of their survey, the English landed on the shore of *Possession Sound*, and celebrated the birthday of their sovereign, the 4th of June, by *taking possession*, in his name, and "with the usual formalities, of all that part of New Albion, from the latitude of 39 degrees 20 minutes south, and longitude 236 degrees 26 minutes east, to the entrance of the inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, as also of all the coasts, islands, &c., within the said strait, and both its shores;" to which region they gave the appellation of *New Georgia*. With regard to this ceremony, it may be observed, that, although naval

officers are not expected to be minutely acquainted with diplomatic affairs, yet Captain Vancouver, who was sent to the North Pacific as commissioner to execute the convention of October, 1790, should have recollected that, by the stipulations of that convention, *every part of the north-west coast of America was rendered free and open for trade or settlement to Spanish as well as British subjects*; and that, consequently, *no claim of sovereignty, on the part of either of those nations, could be valid*. It may seem pedantic, if not unjust, to make this remark with regard to what may have been nothing more than the result of an exuberance of loyal feeling in the officers and crews of the vessels; but this *taking possession* by Vancouver has been since gravely adduced, by the representatives of the British government, in support of its claims to the dominion of the territories above mentioned.*

On returning to the Strait of Fuca, the English examined several other passages opening into it, some of which were found to terminate in the land, at short distances from their mouths, and others to be channels between islands. Through one of these latter channels, opening immediately opposite the entrance of Admiralty Inlet, they passed into a long and wide gulf, extending north-westward; and, after proceeding a few miles within it, they, on the 23d of June, unexpectedly met the Spanish schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*,† commanded by Lieutenants Galiano and Valdes, which had left Nootka on the 4th of the month, and had advanced thus far along the northern shore of the strait. The meeting was, doubtless, vexatious to the commanders of both the parties, each being naturally anxious to secure to himself all the merit which might be acquired by determining the character of this famous arm of the sea: they, however, received and treated each other with the utmost civility, mutually exhibiting their charts and journals, and comparing their observations; and, having agreed to unite their labors, they remained together three weeks. During this time, they surveyed the shores of the great gulf above mentioned, called by the Spaniards *Canal del Rosario*, and by the English the *Gulf of Georgia*, which extended

* See statement of the British commissioners, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter G.

† Vancouver describes these vessels as "each about forty-five tons burden, mounting two brass guns, and navigated by twenty-four men; bearing one lieutenant, without a single inferior officer. Their apartments just allowed room for sleeping-places on each side, with a table in the intermediate space, at which four persons could with difficulty sit; and they were, in all other respects, the most ill-calculated and unfit vessels that could possibly be imagined for such an expedition."

north-westward as far as the 50th degree of latitude ; and then, on the 13th of July, the English took leave of their Spanish friends, who, from want of force, were unable to keep up with them.

On parting with the Spaniards, the English entered a passage, named by them *Johnstone's Strait*, leading from the north-west extremity of the gulf ; and after a long and difficult navigation through it, they, on the 10th of August, emerged into the Pacific at Queen Charlotte's Sound, about one hundred miles north of Nootka. Having been, from the commencement, persuaded that the land on the western side of the strait was an island, they had devoted their attention particularly to the eastern shores, through which a passage might be found to Hudson's Bay or the Arctic Sea ; but their search proved vain, and, after tracing to their terminations in the interior a number of long and intricate inlets, they became convinced that the continent extended uninterruptedly northward, at least to the 51st parallel of latitude. Immediately on entering the Pacific, the *Discovery* struck on a rock, and scarcely had she been got off ere a similar misfortune befell the *Chatham* ; both vessels, however, escaped with little injury, and they soon after arrived at Nootka Sound. Galiano and Valdes also passed through the strait by the same route, and reached Nootka in safety on the 4th of September.

After the arrival of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* at Nootka, Vancouver and the Spanish commander, Quadra, compared together the notes and charts of the two voyages through the Strait of Fuca ; and it was agreed between them, that the great island which that arm of the sea separated from the American continent should bear the names of them both. It has, in consequence, ever since been distinguished on maps by the long and inconvenient appellation of *Island of Quadra and Vancouver*, which it will scarcely be allowed to retain, when that part of the world shall be occupied by a civilized people.

This survey of the Strait of Fuca was conducted in the most complete and effectual manner possible by Vancouver, whose account of it, filling a large portion of his journal, together with his charts, afford unequivocal testimony of the skill and perseverance of the British navigators. Galiano and Valdes seem also to have done as much as could have been expected, considering the smallness of their force and the miserable scale of their equipments. Had they not met the British ships, they would, doubtless, have found their way through the strait ; but they could never have made even a tolerable survey of it, as they must have left a number of passages

unexplored; and the world would, probably, never have received any detailed report of their operations.*

Before the arrival of these vessels at Nootka Sound, Captain Caamano returned from his search for the *Rio de Reyes* of Admiral Fonté, in which he had spent two months. During this period, he entered many of the openings in the coasts north and north-east of Queen Charlotte's Island, between the 53d and the 56th parallels of latitude; some of which were found to be the mouths of bays, or of inlets running far inland, and others to be channels separating islands. He appears to have displayed much skill and industry in his examinations, as Vancouver indirectly testifies in his narrative: but he effected no discoveries calculated to throw much light on the geography of that part of the coast; and his labors were productive of advantage only in so far as they served to facilitate the movements of the English navigator, to whom his charts and journals were exhibited at Nootka.

At Nootka, Vancouver found the store-ship *Dædalus*, which brought the instructions from the British government for his conduct as commissioner. She left England in the autumn of 1791, under the command of Lieutenant Hergest; and, passing around Cape Horn, she, in the latter part of March, 1792, fell in with the

* The voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* was the last made by the Spaniards in the North Pacific Ocean, for the purposes of discovery; and the only one, since that of Vizcaino, of which an authentic account has been given to the world, with the sanction of the Spanish government. The *Journal* of Galiano and Valdes was published at Madrid in 1802, *by order of the king*, with an Introduction, often cited in the preceding pages, including a historical sketch of the exploring voyages of the Spaniards on the coasts of America, north-west of Mexico. This Introduction is the only valuable part of the work; the meagre and uninteresting details of the *Journal* having been superseded by the full and luminous descriptions of Vancouver: it was intended—as a defence of the rights of Spain to the north-west portion of America, which were supposed to be endangered since the cession of Louisiana to France—as a vindication of the claims of Spanish navigators to the merit of discovering those regions, which the British were endeavoring to monopolize—and as a reply to the charges, insinuations, and sarcasms, against the intelligence, liberality, and good faith, of the Spanish government and nation, brought forward by Fleurieu. It was compiled chiefly from the original journals and other documents, in the archives of the Council of the Indies, relative to the exploration of the North Pacific coasts; and, in this manner, many curious if not important facts were communicated, which might otherwise have remained forever buried. It is, however, to be regretted that the author should have disfigured his work—as he has in every part in which the honor or interests of Spain are concerned—by gross and palpable misstatements of circumstances, respecting which he undoubtedly possessed the means of arriving at the truth. It may, perhaps, be considered a sufficient apology for him, that his book was published by the Spanish government, at Madrid, in 1802, as we know not what changes may have been made in it by insertions, suppressions, and alterations, after it left his hands.

islands in the centre of the Pacific, north of the Marquesas, which had been discovered by Ingraham in April of the preceding year. Sailing thence, she reached Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, where Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch, the astronomer, were murdered by the natives, on the 11th of May; after which she came to Nootka Sound, under the command of Lieutenant New. Vancouver gave the name of *Hergest's Islands* to the group visited by the *Dædalus*, as above mentioned; and so they are called in his chart, although, as he says in his journal, he had been *informed that they had been previously discovered and landed on by some of the American traders.*

For his conduct as commissioner, Vancouver was referred by his instructions to the convention of October, 1790, and to a letter brought by the *Dædalus* from count de Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister of state, addressed to the commandant of the port of San Lorenzo of Nootka; ordering that officer, in conformity with the first article of the convention, to put his Britannic majesty's commissioner in possession of the buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by his subjects in April, 1789, as well in the port of Nootka as in the other, said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues farther southward. A copy of this order had been given to Quadra, on his departure from Mexico; but it does not appear that either of the commissioners was furnished by his government with any evidence to assist him in ascertaining precisely what lands were to be restored, or for what buildings indemnification was to be made by the Spaniards.

In order to supply this want of information, Quadra had, immediately on arriving at Nootka, made inquiries on the subject of Maquinna and other chiefs of the surrounding tribes; all of whom, without hesitation, denied that any lands had been purchased, or any houses had been built there, by the English at any time. As the testimony of the savage chiefs could not, however, be of much value alone, he had next addressed his inquiries to Captains Gray and Ingraham, who arrived at Nootka in July, as already stated, and who had witnessed the proceedings at that place in 1789, when the former commanded the *Washington*, and the latter was first mate of the *Columbia*; and they, in answer, sent a letter, dated August 2d, containing a clear and particular statement of all the circumstances connected with the occupation of Nootka, and the seizure of the vessels by Martinez. With regard to the particular points in question, they declare unequivocally that, although they

had been in habits of constant intercourse with Maquinna and his people for nine months, they had never heard of any purchase of lands on that coast by British subjects; and that the only building seen by them, when they reached the sound in September, 1789, was a rude hut, made by the Indians, which had been destroyed long before the arrival of the Spaniards.* These statements were, in all respects, confirmed by Viana, the Portuguese, who had been the captain of the *Iphigenia* in 1788 and 1789, and who was then with his vessel at Nootka; and the Spanish commissioner thereupon considered himself authorized to assume that *no lands were to be restored, and no buildings to be replaced or paid for by Spain.*

A communication to this effect, with copies of the letters of Gray and Ingraham and Viana, was, accordingly, addressed by Quadra to Vancouver, on the arrival of the latter at Nootka. The Spanish commissioner, however, at the same time offered, with the view of removing all causes of disagreement between the two nations, to surrender to the British the small spot of ground on the shore of Friendly Cove, which had been temporarily occupied by Meares and his people in 1788; to give up, for their use, the houses and cultivated lands of the Spaniards near that place; and to retire with all his forces to Port Nuñez Gaona, in the Strait of Fuca, (where an establishment had been begun by Fidalgo,) until the two governments should determine further on the matter: with the understanding, nevertheless, that this cession was not to be considered as affecting the rights of his Catholic majesty to the dominion of the territory, and that Nootka was to be regarded as the most northern settlement of the Spaniards, to whom the whole coast lying south of it, and the adjacent country, was to be acknowledged to belong exclusively.

Vancouver, on the other hand, had thought proper to construe the first article of the convention of 1790 as giving to his countrymen *possession of the whole territory surrounding Nootka and Clayoquot*; and he therefore refused to receive what was offered by Quadra, declaring, with regard to the concluding part of the Spaniard's proposition, that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion as to the rights or claims of the respective nations. In this conviction he was supported by the evidence of Robert Duffin, the former mate of the *Argonaut*, who happened to arrive at Nootka while the negotiation was in progress. This person testified that

* See letter of Gray and Ingraham to Quadra, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter D.

he had accompanied Mr. Meares to Nootka in 1788, with his two vessels, which sailed under Portuguese colors and under the name of a Portuguese merchant, for the purpose of avoiding certain heavy duties at Macao, but were, notwithstanding, "*entirely British property, and wholly navigated by the subjects of his Britannic majesty*;" that he had himself been present when Mr. Meares purchased "from the two chiefs, Maquinna and Callicum, the whole of the land that forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in his Britannic majesty's name," for some sheets of copper and trifling articles; that the natives were perfectly satisfied, and, with the chiefs, did homage to Mr. Meares as sovereign; that the British flag—not the Portuguese—was displayed on shore on that occasion; that Mr. Meares caused a house to be erected on a convenient spot, containing three bed-chambers, with a mess-room for the officers and proper apartments for the men, "surrounded by several out-houses and sheds for the artificers to work in, all of which he left in good repair, under the care of Maquinna and Callicum, until he, or some of his associates, should return; that he, Duffin, was not at Nootka when Martinez arrived there, *but he understood no vestige of the house remained at that time*; and, on his return thither in July, 1789, he found the Cove occupied by the subjects of his Catholic majesty, and on the spot on which the house had stood were the tents and houses of some of the people of the ship Columbia. Upon the strength of this testimony, Vancouver pronounced the declarations of Messrs. Gray and Ingraham to be entirely false; and he takes pains, in several parts of his work, to animadvert, in severe terms, on what he is pleased to call "the wilful misrepresentations of the Americans, to the prejudice of British subjects."

On the points to which Duffin's statement relates, it is unnecessary to add any thing to what has been already said. The evidence is presented to us by Vancouver, in the form of an abstract, of the correctness of which, as well as of the candor of that officer, we may be enabled to form an estimate, by comparing his abstract of the letter from Gray and Ingraham to Quadra, with the letter itself. It will be thus seen, that the British commander has, most unfairly, garbled the testimony of the American traders, by suppressing or altering every part of it which could tend to place his countrymen, or their cause, in an unfavorable light, or to excuse the conduct of the Spaniards towards them. His bitterness towards the citizens of the United States, on this occasion, may, perhaps, be attributed

to the circumstance, that, on his arrival at Nootka, he learned the complete success of Gray in finding a large river, and a secure harbor, on a coast which he had himself explored in vain with the same objects.

The correspondence between the two commissioners was continued for some weeks, at the end of which, finding it impossible to effect any definitive arrangement, they agreed to submit the matter, with all the additional evidence obtained by both parties, to their respective governments, and to await further orders; Nootka being, in the mean time, considered a Spanish port.* Vancouver,

* The preceding sketch of the negotiation between Vancouver and Quadra is derived from the Journals of Vancouver, Galiano and Valdes, and Ingraham. The following summary account of the business, extracted from Ingraham's Journal, was drawn up, at his request, by Mr. Howel, the supercargo of the American brig *Margaret*, who acted as translator for Quadra, and saw the whole of the correspondence.

"The indefinite mode of expression adopted by Messrs. Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca did not affix any boundaries to the cession expected by Great Britain: what the buildings were, or what was the extent of the tract of land to be restored, the plenipotentiaries did not think proper to determine. Don Juan Francisco, having no better guide, collected the best evidence he could procure, and that could enable him to determine what were the lands and buildings of which the British subjects were dispossessed, and which the tenor of the first article of the convention alone authorized him to restore. The result of this investigation, in which he was much aided by your communication, supported by the uniform declarations of Maquinna and his tribe, sufficiently evinced that the tract was a small corner of Friendly Cove, and, to use the words of Captain Vancouver, little more than a hundred yards in extent any way; and the buildings, according to your information, dwindled to one hut. Señor Quadra, having ascertained the limits usually occupied by Mr. Meares, or his servants, was ever ready to deliver it, in behalf of his Catholic majesty, to any envoy from the British court. Captain Vancouver arrived at Nootka Sound in the latter end of August; and Señor Quadra wrote to him on the subject of their respective orders, and enclosed your letter, together with one from a Captain Viana, a Portuguese, who passed as captain of the *Iphigenia*, when she was detained by the Spaniards. Don Juan Francisco, in his letter, avowed his readiness to put Captain Vancouver in possession of the tract of land where Mr. Meares's house once stood, which alone could be that ceded to Great Britain by the convention. Señor Quadra offered, likewise, to leave for his accommodation all the houses, gardens, &c., which had been made at the expense of his Catholic majesty, as he intended leaving the port immediately. In the same letter, he tendered Captain Vancouver offers of every service and assistance which hospitality or benevolence could dictate. Captain Vancouver, in reply, gratefully acknowledged the intended favors, but entirely dissented from the boundaries affixed by Señor Quadra to the tract of land, of which he was to receive the possession and property; and, in pursuance of his directions, interpreted the first article as a cession of this port, viz., *Nootka Sound, in toto, together with Clioquot, or Port Cox*. He disclaimed all retrospective discussion of the rights, pretensions, &c., of the two courts, and also of the actual possessions of British subjects in Nootka Sound, deeming it irrelevant to the business he was authorized to transact, and only to be settled by the respective monarchs. The letters which followed on both sides were merely a reiteration of the foregoing proposals and demands. Señor Quadra invited to a discussion of the boundaries, &c., and sup-

accordingly, despatched Lieutenant Mudge, by way of China, to England, with communications for his government; and he then prepared for his own departure towards the south, being resolved to examine the Columbia River and Bulfinch's Harbor, of which he had received from Quadra copies of the charts given to that officer by Gray.

Vancouver sailed from Nootka, with his three vessels, on the 13th of October, and, on the 18th, he was opposite Bulfinch's Harbor, to examine which he detached Lieutenant Whidbey, in the *Dædalus*, while he himself proceeded with the other vessels to the mouth of the Columbia. Into that river Broughton penetrated, in the *Chatham*, on the 20th: the *Discovery* was unable to pass the bar at the mouth; and Vancouver, being persuaded that the stream was inaccessible to large ships, "except in very fine weather, with moderate winds, and a smooth sea," sailed to the Bay of San Francisco, where he had ordered the other officers to join him in case of separation. In December following, the whole squadron was reunited at Monterey, where Whidbey and Broughton presented the reports of their observations.

Whidbey's account of Bulfinch's Harbor was less favorable than Gray's; from both, however, it appears that the place possesses advantages which must render it important, whenever the surrounding region becomes settled. It affords a safe retreat for small vessels, and there are several spots on its shore where boats may land without difficulty: moreover, it is the only harbor on the coast, between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, except the mouth of the Columbia; and, under such circumstances, labor and ingenuity will certainly be employed to correct and improve what nature has offered. Upon the strength of this survey, the place has been frequently distinguished on British, and even on American maps, as *Whidbey's Harbor*, although Vancouver himself has not pretended to withhold from Gray the merit of discovering it.

Broughton, as before mentioned, entered the Columbia with the

ported his evidence with well-grounded reasoning; yet Captain Vancouver steadily adhered to the demands he first made, and refused every kind of discussion. The definitive letter from Señor Quadra was transmitted on the 15th of September; but, it being of the same nature with the preceding ones, Captain Vancouver only replied by a repetition of his former avowal, and informing the Spanish commandant that he could receive, on the part of his master, the king of Britain, no other territories than those he had pointed out in his other letters, with which if Señor Quadra did not comply, he must retain them for his Catholic majesty, until the respective courts should determine what further proceedings they might deem necessary."

Chatham, on the 20th of October; and he there, to his surprise, found lying at anchor the brig Jenny, from Bristol, which had sailed from Nootka Sound a few days previous. Scarcely had the Chatham effected an entrance ere she ran aground; and the channel proved to be so intricate, that Broughton determined to leave her about four miles from the mouth, and to proceed up the stream in his cutter. A short account of his survey will be sufficient, as it would be unnecessary to present an abridgment of the long and minute description given in the journal of Vancouver.

The portion of the Columbia near the sea was found by Broughton to be about seven miles in width; its depth varied from two fathoms to eight, and it was crossed in every direction by shoals, which must always render the navigation difficult, even by small vessels. Higher up, the stream became narrower, and, at the distance of twenty-five miles from its mouth, its breadth did not exceed a thousand yards. These circumstances were considered by Broughton and Vancouver as authorizing them to assume that *the true entrance of the river was at the last-mentioned point, and that the waters between it and the ocean constituted an inlet or sound.** From the extremity of this inlet, the party rowed eighty miles up the river, in a south-west course, to a bend, where, the current being so rapid as to prevent them from advancing without great labor, they abandoned the survey, and returned to their vessel. The angle of land around which the river flowed, and where their progress was arrested, received the appellation of *Point Vancouver*; the part of the inlet where the ship Columbia lay at anchor during her visit, was called *Gray's Bay*; and that immediately within Cape Disappointment was named *Baker's Bay*, in compliment to the captain of the Jenny. On the 10th of November, the Chatham

* "I shall conclude this account of the Columbia River by a few short remarks that Mr. Broughton made in the course of its survey, in his own words. 'The discovery of this river, we were given to understand, is claimed by the Spaniards, who called it *Entrada de Ceta*, after the commander of the vessel who is said to be its first discoverer, but who never entered it; he places it in 46 degrees north latitude. It is the same opening that Mr. Gray stated to us, in the spring, he had been nine days off, the former year, but could not get in, in consequence of the outsetting current; that, in the course of the late summer, he had, however, entered the river, or rather the sound, and had named it after the ship he then commanded. The extent Mr. Gray became acquainted with on that occasion is no farther than what I have called Gray's Bay, not more than fifteen miles from Cape Disappointment, though, according to Mr. Gray's sketch, it measures thirty-six miles. By his calculation, its entrance lies in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes, longitude 237 degrees 18 minutes, differing materially, in these respects, from our observations.' "—Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 74.

quitted the Columbia, in company with the Jenny, and arrived at Port San Francisco before the end of the month.

The distinction which Vancouver and Broughton have thus endeavored to establish between the upper and the lower portions of the Columbia, is entirely destitute of foundation, and at variance with the principles of our whole geographical nomenclature. *Inlets and sounds* are arms of the sea, running up into the land; and their waters, being supplied from the sea, are necessarily salt: *the waters of the Columbia are, on the contrary, generally fresh and potable within ten miles of the Pacific*; the volume and the overbearing force of the current being sufficient to prevent the farther ingress of the ocean. The question appears, at first, to be of no consequence: the following extract from Vancouver's journal will, however, serve to show that the quibble was devised by the British navigators, with the unworthy object of depriving Gray of the merits of his discovery: "Previously to his [Broughton's] departure, he formally took possession of the river, and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic majesty's name, *having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before. In this opinion he was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch, in which it does not appear that Mr. Gray either saw or ever was within five leagues of its entrance.*" This unjust view has been adopted by the British government and writers, and also, doubtless from inadvertency, by some distinguished authors in the United States. It may be, indeed, considered fortunate for Gray, that, by communicating the particulars of his discoveries, as he did, to Quadra, he secured an unimpeachable witness in support of his claims; had he not done so, the world would probably never have learned that a citizen of the United States was the first to enter the greatest river flowing from America into the Pacific, and to find the only safe harbor on the long line of coast between Port San Francisco and the Strait of Fuca.

At San Francisco and Monterey, Vancouver surveyed the bays, and examined the Spanish establishments, of which he presents minute and graphic descriptions in his narrative; and he obtained satisfactory evidence that *the presidio of San Francisco, situated near the entrance of the bay, is latitude of 37 degrees 48 minutes, was the northernmost spot, on the Pacific coast of America, occupied by the Spaniards previous to the month of May, 1789, and was, consequently, according to the convention of 1790, the northernmost spot on that coast over which Spain could exercise exclusive juria-*

diction. At Monterey, the English commander again met and conferred with the Spanish commissioner Quadra; and it was agreed between them, that Lieutenant Broughton should proceed to Europe, across Mexico, with further communications, for their respective courts, on the subject of the arrangement of the questions at issue. These affairs having been concluded, the *Dædalus* was sent to New South Wales; and Vancouver proceeded, with the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, the latter under Lieutenant Puget, to the Sandwich Islands, where they arrived in the middle of February, 1793.

At Owyhee, the English ships were visited by Tamahamaha, who was, by this time, acknowledged as king of the island by all the other chiefs except Tamaahmoto, the murderer of the crew of the *Fair American*. Vancouver immediately recognized the authority of Tamahamaha, to which he endeavored, but in vain, to induce Tamaahmoto to submit; he then sailed to Mowee, where he succeeded in negotiating a peace between Titeree, king of that island, and the sovereign of Owyhee, and thence to Woahoo, where he superintended the trial and execution of three natives, who had been delivered up to him as the murderers of Hergest and Gooch, the officers of the *Dædalus*. The particulars of these judicial proceedings are detailed with precision by Vancouver, who seems to have been perfectly content with their regularity and correctness; nevertheless, when Broughton visited the island, in 1796, he was assured, as he says, "that the men who were executed alongside of the *Discovery* had not committed the murders, but were unfortunate beings whom the chief selected to satisfy Captain Vancouver." * This appears to be certain from subsequent accounts; and it seems to be somewhat strange, that Vancouver should not have suspected it to have been the case, at the time of the trial.

Having performed these acts of diplomacy and justice in the Sandwich Islands, Vancouver proceeded to the American coasts; and, after examining the portion near Cape Mendocino, including the place called Port Trinidad by the Spaniards, in 1775, so as to connect his surveys north and south of that portion, he sailed to Nootka, where he arrived on the 20th of May, 1793. The remainder of the warm season was passed by the British navigators in making a minute and laborious examination of the shores of the

* Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific, from 1793 to 1797, by Captain Robert Broughton, p. 42.

continent, and the islands in its vicinity, from the northern entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 51st degree of latitude, northward as far as the 54th parallel; tracing to their terminations, as in the preceding year, all the passages which appeared to run eastward, as well as many others, which were found to be channels separating islands from each other or from the main land. Several openings still remained unexplored beyond the 54th parallel; but the weather became so stormy at the end of September, that the survey could no longer be continued with safety or advantage. Vancouver accordingly returned along the western side of Queen Charlotte's Island to Nootka, and thence took his departure for Port San Francisco, which he reached on the 19th of October.

From Port San Francisco the British navigators sailed along the shores of California—which Vancouver takes care always to call *New Albion*—as far south as San Diego, near the 33d degree of latitude, visiting every important point on their way, and observing the coasts with great exactness; and thence, in the middle of December, they went to Owyhee, where they found that the supremacy of Tamahamaha was admitted, though with some qualifications, by the people and the other chiefs. Here Vancouver succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the king and Tahowmannoo, his sultana, (since better known as Kaahumanu,) from whom he had been for some time separated on account of her open and repeated infidelities; and he soon after gave further proof of his talents as negotiator, in a transaction the particulars of which do not appear to have been understood in the same light by both the parties.

The navigator states that a strong disposition had been manifested by several chiefs, at the time of his first visit, to place their island under subjection to the British king, but that it had been opposed by other chiefs, on the ground that they should not surrender themselves to a superior foreign power, unless they were assured that they would thus be really protected against distant and neighboring enemies. At the time of his second visit, however, he found the disposition to submit much increased, and, as he says, "Under a conviction of the importance of these islands to Great Britain, in the event of an extension of her commerce over the Pacific Ocean, and in return for the essential services we had derived from the excellent productions of the country, and the ready assistance of its inhabitants, I lost no opportunity for encouraging their friendly dispositions toward us, notwithstanding the

disappointments they had met from the traders, for whose conduct I could invent no apology; endeavoring to impress them with the idea that, on submitting to the authority and protection of a superior power, they might reasonably expect they would in future be less liable to such abuses." Acting under these views, he conciliated Tamahamaha by building for him a small vessel, on which the guns taken from the schooner Fair American were mounted; and, having induced all the principal chiefs to meet him on the shore near his ships, it was determined, at the assembly, that Owyhee should be ceded to his Britannic majesty; it being, however, clearly understood, *that no interference was to take place in the religion, government, and domestic economy, of the island*—"that Tamahamaha, the chiefs, and priests, were to continue, as usual, to officiate, with the same authority as before, in their respective stations, and that no alteration in those particulars was in any degree thought of or intended." So soon as this resolution was announced, Lieutenant Puget, the commander of the Chatham, landed, displayed the British colors, and took possession of the island in the name of his sovereign; after which a salute was fired from the vessels, and a copper plate was deposited in a conspicuous place at the royal residence, bearing the following inscription: "On the 25th of February, 1794, Tamahamaha, king of Owyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island, assembled on board his Britannic majesty's sloop Discovery, in Karakakooa Bay, and, in presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop, Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said majesty's armed tender the Chatham, and the other officers of the Discovery, after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owyhee to his Britannic majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain."

That Vancouver assumed more than was warranted, in thus asserting the cession of Owyhee, and the subjection of its chiefs to Great Britain, is clear; not only from the subsequent declarations of the chiefs, that they only intended to place themselves under the protection of that power, but also from the understanding established between them and the navigator, that *there was to be no interference in their internal concerns*. At farthest, the transaction, even if ratified by the British government, can only be viewed as an engagement, on the part of the islanders, not to cede their country to any other nation, and, on the part of Great Britain, to secure them against conquest or oppression by any other. Most probably each of the parties merely desired to obtain for itself as

many advantages as could be derived from the transaction, without any intention to observe concomitant obligations. Tamahamaha expected to receive assistance from Great Britain in conquering the remaining islands of the group; and Vancouver wished to prevent other nations from resorting to Owyhee. It may be added, that Great Britain has, to this day, been little, if at all, benefited by the Sandwich Islands; and that Tamahamaha, though he lived and flourished for twenty-five years after the transaction above mentioned, never received a present, or even a message of any kind, from his brother King George, to whom he, however, occasionally sent a message by a whaling captain, reminding him that Vancouver's promise of a ship of war had not yet been fulfilled. No such promise is recorded in the journal of Vancouver; though it there appears that the islanders had reason to believe that a vessel of war would be sent, for their protection, from Great Britain.

Another circumstance connected with this pretended cession of Owyhee to the British deserves particular notice. The consummation was delayed for some time, on account of the absence of Tamaahmoto, or Kamamoko, one of the most powerful chiefs, the same who, in February, 1790, captured the schooner *Fair American*, and murdered her crew, as already stated. Vancouver had, at first, refused to receive this man, or to have any intercourse with him; but when it was found to be indispensable for the cession, that Tamaahmoto should give his vote in favor of it, the British commander began "seriously to reflect on all the circumstances that had attended his visits to the islands;" and he, in the end, became "thoroughly convinced that implacable resentment or unrelenting anger, exhibited in his own practice, would ill accord with the precepts which he had endeavored to inculcate for the regulation of theirs." He therefore "determined, by an act of oblivion in his own mind, to efface all former injuries and offences," which he probably found no difficulty in doing, as the injuries and offences were committed against citizens of the United States; and he accordingly intimated that he would "no longer regard Tamaahmoto as undeserving forgiveness, and would allow of his paying the compliments as he had so repeatedly requested, provided he would engage, in the most solemn manner, that neither himself nor his people (for he generally moved with a numerous train of attendants) would behave in any manner so as to disturb the subsisting harmony." On receiving this intimation, Tamaahmoto readily came forward; he was admitted to the table of the British commander, and was

one of the seven chiefs who assented to the cession. It is not necessary to show what inference the natives of the Sandwich Islands might draw from a comparison between the favor thus shown to the murderer of citizens of the United States, and the trial and execution of the persons who were charged with causing the deaths of the officers of the British vessel at Woahoo.*

Soon after these transactions, the British navigators took their final leave of the Sandwich Islands, and, returning to the north-west coasts of America, examined every port which they had not previously visited, from the peninsula of Aliaska, eastward and southward, to Queen Charlotte's Island. They began at Cook's River, and, having ascertained that no great stream entered that bay, they changed its name to *Cook's Inlet*, which is now most commonly applied to it. They then proceeded to Prince William's Sound, the shores of which were completely surveyed; and thence along the bases of Mounts St. Elias and Fairweather, to the great opening in the coast, near the 58th degree of latitude, which had been called by Cook *Cross Sound*. In Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound, they visited all the Russian establishments, of which Vancouver presents full and satisfactory accounts; and, having succeeded in proving that the place in which Bering anchored on his last expedition could be no other than that called Admiralty Bay, at the foot of Mount St. Elias, on the east, they gave to it the name of *Bering's Bay*, and as such it generally appears on English charts: the Russians call it the *Bay of Yakutat*.

Through Cross Sound, Vancouver passed into a labyrinth of channels, some among islands, others running far inland, and terminating in the midst of stupendous mountains; and, having succeeded in threading nearly all these passages, particularly those taking a northern or eastern direction, and thus joined his survey with that of the preceding year, he considered his task accomplished. He had made known the existence of an almost infinite number of islands, between the 54th and the 58th parallels, in the position assigned to the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, in the story of Fonté's voyage: but whilst a part of that story thus seemed to be confirmed, the remainder was supposed to be entirely disproved, as no great river

* Tamaahmoto did not, however, scruple to declare, two years afterwards, that he would take the first vessel which might come within his reach; and so little effect had the *executions* at Woahoo, that Captain Brown, of the British ship *Butterworth*, was killed, in January, 1795, by the natives of that island, in an attack which they made on his vessel with the intention to take her. — See Broughton's account of his voyage in the Pacific, p. 43.

was found issuing from the continent opposite these islands; and Vancouver became well satisfied "that the precision with which his survey had been conducted would remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of a north-west passage, or any water communication navigable for shipping, between the North Pacific and the interior of the American continent, within the limit of his researches." The belief thus expressed by the navigator has been completely confirmed. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that, considering the intricacies in the coasts between the 48th and the 58th parallels, many passages, by which vessels could penetrate into the interior of the continent, might have long escaped the notice of the most careful observer; and in evidence of this is the fact, that a river called the *Stikine*,* three miles wide at its mouth, and a mile wide thirty miles higher up, has been, since Vancouver's voyage, found entering the arm of the sea named by him *Prince Frederick's Sound*, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes. Vancouver's failure to discover the mouth of the Columbia should have rendered him distrustful of the entire accuracy of his observations in such cases.

After completing these discoveries, Vancouver took possession of the part of the continent extending north-westward of that around the Strait of Fuca, which he had named *New Georgia*, as far as the 59th degree of latitude, and of all the adjacent islands, "in the name of his Britannic majesty, his heirs and successors," with the formalities usual on such occasions, including a double allowance of grog to the sailors. He also bestowed upon the various territories, straits, bays, &c., names derived almost entirely from the lists of the members of the royal family, the ministry, the Parliament, the army and the navy of Great Britain; the importance

* Vancouver mentions *Stikeen* as the name of a country or nation on the continental shore of Prince Frederick's Sound; and he heard, from the natives farther south, of a place in that sound called by them *Uon-nass*, which word seemed to mean *great channel*. The first intimation of the existence of the river was probably communicated to the world by the captain of the ship *Atahualpa*, of Boston, from whose journal an extract is published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1804, p. 242. The captain there says, —

"August 25th, 1802. I had some conversation with Cou (a chief of an island near Queen Charlotte's Sound) respecting the natives who inhabit the country back of Stikeen: he had his information from Cokshoo, the Stikeen chief. * * * Cou also informs me that the place called *Nass*, or *Uon-nass* (spoken of by Vancouver) by the natives in Chebassa Strait, (Prince Frederick's Sound,) is the mouth of a river of very considerable extent, but unknown, navigable for vessels or large canoes." Near this place, the *Atahualpa* was attacked, in January, 1805, and her captain, mate, and six seamen, were killed: the others of her crew succeeded in escaping with the vessel.

of the place thus distinguished being generally in proportion to the rank of the individual. Thus we find upon his chart of the north-west *archipelago*, the large islands or groups of *King George the Third*, *the Prince of Wales*, *the Duke of York*, and *the Admiralty*; with the smaller ones of *Pitt*, *Hawkesbury*, *Dundas*, and *Burke*; between which are the *Duke of Clarence's Strait*, *Prince Frederick's Sound*, *Chatham Canal*, *Grenville Canal*, and *Stephens's Passage*: a small group, near the 55th parallel, partially surveyed by Caamano, in 1791, was allowed to retain the name of *Revillagigedo Islands*, in honor of the enlightened viceroy of Mexico. The capes, bays, and smaller points or channels, are distributed among the *Windhams*, *Walpoles*, and other high families, principally those belonging to the Tory party; one little point being, however, vouchsafed to *Charles James Fox*. Without questioning the right of the discoverer to impose these names, it may be observed, that none of them will, in all probability, ever be used by the inhabitants of the region in which the place so called is situated. The Russians, who occupy the islands and coasts of the main-land north of the 54th parallel, rigorously exclude from their charts, and from use in every way, the appellations assigned to places in their dominions by people of other civilized countries; and even the British traders, whose posts extend through the parts of the continent distinguished by Vancouver as *New Georgia*, *New Hanover*, *New Cornwall*, and *New Norfolk*, appear to be entirely ignorant of those names.

From the northern coasts, Vancouver, when his labor was ended, went to Nootka, where he found the Spaniards still in possession, under the command of Brigadier Alava; Quadra having died in the preceding spring, at San Blas. As no information had been received there from Europe respecting the surrender of the territories, the British commander sailed to Monterey, where he learned that the question had been "adjusted by the two courts amicably, and nearly on the terms which he had repeatedly offered to Quadra in September, 1792;" and also "that the business was not to be carried into execution by him, as a fresh commission had been issued for the purpose by the court of London." Under these circumstances, he resolved to return immediately to Europe; and he accordingly quitted Monterey on the 2d of December, 1794. On his way southward, he examined the Californian coast, though not minutely, as far as Cape San Lucas, from which he took his departure for Valparaiso, in Chili. After a short stay at that place, he passed around Cape Horn, and arrived in England in November, 1795;

having completed, in the most effectual manner, the most extensive nautical survey which had ever been made in one expedition.*

No account has yet transpired of the negotiation between the courts of London and Madrid, respecting the extent of territory, and the buildings on the north-west coasts of America, which were to be restored to British subjects, after the reference of that question to them by their commissioners. Lieutenant Broughton, who had been despatched to England by Vancouver in 1793, was thence sent by the government on this business to Madrid; and, on his return to London, he was ordered to proceed to the North Pacific, in the sloop *Providence*, for the purpose of surveying the coasts of Asia, near Japan, being commissioned, at the same time, to receive possession of the territories at Nootka, in case the restitution should not have been previously made. He accordingly sailed from England for Nootka, where, in April, 1796, he was informed, by letters left in charge of Maquinna,† “that the Spaniards had delivered up the port of Nootka, &c., to Lieutenant Pierce, of the marines, agreeably to the mode of restitution settled between the two courts,”

* Vancouver's journal and charts were published at London in 1798, before which period the navigator had sunk into the grave. His journal is a simple record of observations and occurrences, written in a plain and intelligible, though homely and unpretending style; and it is entirely free from those displays of imagination, in the shape of long political and philosophical disquisitions with which such works are often overloaded. The charts and views of the land are admirably executed, and their accuracy has been since generally confirmed. We are, in fact, indebted to Vancouver and his officers for our knowledge of the outline of the whole western coasts of America, from the peninsula of California to the peninsula of Alaska; of which all the principal points have been ascertained with the utmost precision, so that succeeding navigators have only had to make corrections in the intermediate spaces. Vancouver himself was certainly a man of great courage, perseverance, and professional skill, possessing also good temper and good feelings, except with regard to citizens of the United States, against whom and their country he cherished the most bitter animosity. While admitting, with frankness, the merits of subjects of other nations, as discoverers or as men, he did not hesitate to adopt unworthy means to deprive the Americans of the reputation which they had justly earned by their labors in exploring, and to blacken their characters as individuals: for this object, he made use of misrepresentations, misstatements, insinuations, and concealments, whenever occasions presented themselves; and that which he would have commended in a Briton, or excused in a Russian or a Spaniard, became criminal in his eyes when committed by a citizen of the hated republic. He, nevertheless, appears to have given satisfaction to all with whom he came personally into communication. Ingraham speaks of him with the utmost respect, and acknowledges his obligations for the uniform kindness of the British navigator. In the Sandwich Islands his memory is universally cherished. He was long expected to return and establish himself there, as a commissioner from his sovereign; and he probably would have been admitted among the number of their gods, if the ship which he is said to have promised to Tamahamaha had ever been sent.

† *Journal of a Voyage in the Pacific*, by Captain Robert Broughton, p. 50.

in March, 1795, after which the place had been entirely evacuated by both parties. This is the account given by Broughton in his journal, which, however, affords no information as to the *mode of restitution thus settled*. On the other hand, Belsham, an historian who, notwithstanding the violence of his prejudices, cannot be suspected of want of attachment to the honor or interests of his country, and who possessed ample means of ascertaining the fact, writes, in 1805,* “It is nevertheless certain, from the most authentic subsequent information, *that the Spanish flag flying at Nootka was never struck*, and that the territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain.” It indeed seems very improbable that the British government, which had just concluded a treaty of alliance with Spain, and had induced that power to declare war against France, when Broughton was sent to the Pacific, should at the same time have required the surrender of this territory, or that Spain should have assented to it while she possessed the right, by the convention, to indemnify the British claimants for all such losses of land or buildings, as they could prove to have been sustained by them, since the month of April, 1789. It is more reasonable to suppose that the Spaniards merely abandoned the place, the occupation of which was useless and very expensive.† Since that period, no civilized nation has ever attempted to form an establishment at Nootka Sound, nor have the Spaniards occupied any spot on the Pacific coast of America north of Port San Francisco.

In July, 1796, Spain, having been unsuccessful in her hostile operations against the French republic, was obliged to make peace with that power; and, in October following, she was likewise obliged

* History of Great Britain, vol. viii. p. 337.

† In the library of Congress, at Washington, is an interesting Spanish manuscript presented by General Tornel, during his residence in the United States as minister from Mexico, entitled “Instrucción reservada del Reyno de Nueva España que el Exmo. Señor Virrey Conde de Revillagigedo dió á su Sucesor el Exmo. Señor Marques de Branciforte en el Año de 1794” — *Secret Instructions respecting the Kingdom of New Spain, given, in 1794, by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo, to his Successor, the Marquis de Branciforte*. This work, which abounds in curious details relative to the administration of affairs in Mexico, has been carefully examined with reference to the objects of the present memoir. Nothing, however, has been collected from it, except in confirmation of statements elsewhere made. The paragraphs from 703 to 713, inclusive, are devoted to the *Marine Department of San Blas*, to which, as already mentioned, the care of the Spanish colonies in California was committed. The count recommends to his successor the maintenance of those colonies, as the best means of preserving Mexico from foreign influences; advising him, at the same time, however, not to extend the establishments beyond the Strait of Fuca. With regard to Nootka, it is merely stated, in paragraph 713, that orders had been sent to the commandant to abandon the place, agreeably to a royal *dictamen*.

to declare war against her former ally, Great Britain. In the manifesto published by the court of Madrid, on the latter occasion, "the frequent arrival of English vessels on the coasts of Peru and Chili, to carry on contraband trade, and to reconnoitre those coasts, under the pretext of the whale fishery, which privilege they claimed under the Nootka convention," is alleged among the causes of the rupture. The British government, in its answer, denied "that the whale fishery by the English, in these parts, was, as asserted, claimed in the convention of Nootka, as then for the first time established," insisting that the right was, in that convention, "solemnly recognized by the court of Madrid, as having always belonged to Great Britain, and the full and undisturbed exercise of which was guaranteed to his majesty's subjects, in terms so express, and in a transaction so recent, that ignorance of it cannot be pretended." That Great Britain did always possess the right to fish in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, agreeably to the principles of common justice, is unquestionable; but that this right was acknowledged by Spain in the Nootka convention, or in any other treaty between those powers previous to 1796, is by no means exact. In the Nootka convention, all assertions and recognitions of rights are, on the contrary, avoided; the whole instrument being, in fact, a series of concessions, limitations, and restrictions, resting entirely on the consent of both parties, and expiring on the withdrawal of its consent by either. On this declaration of war by Spain against Britain, the Nootka convention, with all its stipulations, of whatsoever nature they might have been, expired, agreeably to the rule universally observed and enforced among civilized nations, that *all treaties are ended by war between the parties*. From that moment, Spain might, as before the convention, claim the exclusive navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the sovereignty of all their American coasts; and Great Britain might again assert the right of her subjects to sail and fish in every open sea, and to settle on every unoccupied coast.*

From the preceding view of the circumstances connected with the convention of October, 1790, and the occupation of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards, we are authorized to conclude, —

That no part of "the north-west coasts of the continent of North America, or of the adjacent islands," had ever been owned or occupied by British subjects, anterior to the establishment of the Spanish post at Nootka Sound, in May, 1789: *Consequently*, —

* Further considerations on this subject will be found in the fifteenth chapter of this History.

That no "buildings or tracts of land," on those coasts or islands, were "to be restored to British subjects," agreeably to the first and second articles of the convention of October, 1790: *And, as a further consequence, —*

That the abandonment of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards in 1795, under whatsoever circumstances it may have been effected, gave to Great Britain no other rights at that place, than those which she enjoyed in common with Spain, in every other part of the coasts and islands north of Port San Francisco, by virtue of the third and fifth articles of the same convention.

CHAPTER XII.

1788 to 1810.

Establishment of the North-West Fur Trading Company of Montreal, in 1783 — Expeditions of Mackenzie to the Arctic Sea and to the Pacific Coast — The Trade between the North Pacific Coasts of America and Canton conducted almost exclusively by Vessels of the United States from 1796 to 1814 — Establishment of the Russian American Company — Its Settlements and Factories on the American Coasts — Expedition of Krusenstern through the North Pacific — Proposition of the Russian Government to that of the United States, with Regard to the Trade of the North Pacific.

WHILST the navigators of various nations were thus completing the survey of the shores of North-West America, important information respecting the interior regions of that section of the continent was obtained by the agents of an association formed at Montreal, in 1784, for the prosecution of the fur trade in the Indian territories, which were supposed to be beyond the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Before Canada came into the possession of Great Britain, a large, if not the greater, portion of the furs sent from America by the subjects of that power was shipped from New York. After that period, Montreal became the principal seat of the trade; and disputes immediately arose between the Hudson's Bay Company, which claimed the whole division of America drained by streams falling into that sea, and the Canadians, who pursued their trade in the southern and western parts of that territory. These disputes, with which the British government did not, from policy, choose to interfere, were injurious to the interests of both parties; and, the Indian countries north of Lake Superior having been, about the same time, almost depopulated by the smallpox, the trade was confined, for some years, to the environs of Hudson's Bay, the lower lakes, and the St. Lawrence, where the animals were less numerous, and their furs inferior in quality.

At length, about the year 1775, some enterprising merchants of Montreal penetrated into the countries, far north-west of Lake Superior, drained by the Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers,

which had long before been frequented by the French ; and their success in trade was such as to induce others to make similar expeditions. The Canadians were, however, exposed, on their way, to great difficulties and annoyances from the Hudson's Bay Company, with which they were unable separately to contend ; and they, in consequence, in the year 1784, united their interests, and assumed for their association the title of the *North-West Company of Montreal*. Other associations were afterwards formed, under different names ; but they were soon either dissolved or united with the North-West Company.

The organization of this new company was such, as to insure the utmost regularity and devotion to the interests of the concern, among all who were engaged in its service. The number of the shares was at first sixteen ; it was afterwards increased to twenty, and then to forty : a certain proportion of them was held by the *agents*, residing in Montreal, who furnished the capital ; the remainder being distributed among the *proprietors*, or *partners*, who superintended the business in the forts or posts in the interior, and the *clerks*, who traded directly with the Indians. The clerks were young men, for the most part natives of Scotland, who entered the service of the company for five or seven years ; and, at the end of that time, or even earlier, if they conducted themselves well, they were admitted as proprietors. The inferior servants of the company were *guides*, *interpreters*, and *voyageurs*, the latter being employed as porters on land, and as boatmen on the water, all of whom were bound to the interests of the body by hopes of advancement in station or in pay, and of pensions in their old age.

The agents imported from England the goods required for the trade, had them packed into bundles of about ninety pounds weight each, and despatched them to the different posts ; and they received the furs in packs of the same size, and conducted the shipment and sale of them. The furs, as also the articles for the trade and use of the persons employed, were transported through the continent principally in canoes, for which the Ottawa River, Lakes Huron and Superior, and the other innumerable lakes, and the streams connecting them farther north-west, offered great facilities ; the portage between the navigable waters on the lines of the route being effected by the *voyageurs*, who carried the bundles, and sometimes, also, the canoes, across the intervening tracts of land. In this manner the goods and furs passed one, two, and even three, thousand miles between the agent at Montreal and the pro-

prietor at the trading-post ; and nearly four years elapsed between the period of ordering the goods in Canada, and that at which the furs could be sold in London.

Before the formation of the North-West Company, the farthermost trading establishment of British subjects was one on the Athabasca or Elk River, about twelve hundred miles north-west of Lake Superior, which had been founded by Messrs. Frobisher and Pond, in 1778 ; and this continued to be the principal post in that part of the continent for ten years, when it was abandoned, and another, called *Fort Chipewyan*, was established on the south-west side of the Athabasca Lake, or Lake of the Hills, into which the Elk River discharges its waters. In the mean time, several large parties had been sent, for the purposes of trade and discovery, from Canada towards the west, one of which, consisting of about a hundred men, penetrated to the foot of the great dividing chain then called the *Shining Mountains*, or *Mountains of Bright Stones*, and now commonly known as the *Rocky Mountains* ; * but they were

* Of this expedition an account appeared in a letter written at Pittsburg, in 1791, by an officer of General St. Clair's army, and published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1794. The writer, whose name is not given, received his information from a Mr. M——, who had, as he said, commanded the party in question. The following extracts will show the principal circumstances connected with the expedition, and among them will be found nothing which should induce us to doubt the truth of the account : —

"Mr. M. stated that he had, about five years ago, departed from Montreal, with a company of about one hundred men, for the purpose of making a tour through the Indian countries, to collect furs, and to make remarks, &c. He pursued his route from Montreal, and entered the Indian country, and coasted about three hundred leagues along the banks of Lake Superior, whence he made his way to the Lake of the Woods, of which he took an accurate survey, and found it to be thirty-six leagues in length, and thence to Lake Ounipique, [Winnipeg,] of which he also gives a description. The tribes of Indians through which he passed were called the Muskego, Shipewyan, Cithnistinee, Great-belly, Beaver, Blood, Black-feet, Snake, Ossnobian, Shiveyton, Mandon, Paunee, and several others, &c. In pursuing his route, he found no difficulty in obtaining a guide to accompany him from one nation to another, until he reached the foot of the *Shining Mountains*, or *Mountains of Bright Stones*, where, in attempting to pass, he was frustrated by the hostile appearance of the Indians who inhabit that part of the country ; the consequence of which was, that he was disappointed in his intention, and obliged to turn his back upon them. Having collected a number of Indians, he went forward again, with an intention to force his way over these mountains, if necessary and practicable, and to reach Cook's River, on the north-west coast of America, supposed by him to be about three hundred leagues from the mountains ; but the inhabitants of the mountains again met him with their bows and arrows, and so superior were they in numbers to his little forces, that he was obliged to flee before them. Cold weather coming on, he built huts for himself and party in the Ossnobian [Assinaboin] country, and near to the source of a large river called the Ossnobian River, where they tarried during the cold season, and until some time in the warm months."

unable to proceed farther, in consequence of the hostile dispositions of the natives.

Between 1788 and 1794, two other expeditions were made from Fort Chipewyan by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the superintending proprietor at that place, of which a particular account should be here given, as the geographical information obtained in them was highly interesting, and led to important commercial and political results.*

The Athabasca Lake is a basin about two hundred miles in length from east to west, and about thirteen in average breadth, situated under the 59th parallel of latitude, midway between the Pacific Ocean and Hudson's Bay. It is supplied by several streams, of which the principal are the Athabasca or Elk River, flowing from the south, and the Unjigah or Peace River, from the Rocky Mountains, on the west; and its waters are discharged through the Slave River, running about two hundred miles north, into the Great Slave Lake, discovered by Hearne in 1771. All these rivers join the Athabasca Lake at its south-west end, near which Fort Chipewyan was then situated.

Mackenzie's first expedition was made in 1789, and its principal object was to ascertain the course of the waters from the Great Slave Lake to the sea, which Hearne had left undetermined. For this purpose, he left Fort Chipewyan, with his party, in bark canoes, on the 3d of June, 1789, and, passing down the Slave River into the Great Slave Lake, he discovered a large stream flowing out of the latter basin, at its north-west extremity, to which he gave the name of *Mackenzie River*; and this stream he descended about nine hundred miles, in a north-west direction, along the base of a chain of mountains, to its termination in the sea. On his return, he examined the country east of his great river, which had been traversed by Hearne, and arrived at Fort Chipewyan on the 12th of September, after an absence of nearly three months.

The mouth of the Mackenzie was supposed by its discoverer to be situated near the 69th degree of latitude, and about 25 degrees of longitude, or five hundred miles, west of the mouth of Hearne's Coppermine River, which is not far from its true position.† Still

* Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and the Pacific Oceans, in 1789 and 1793, with a preliminary Account of the Fur Trade of that Country; by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. London, 1801.

† Its principal mouth is in latitude 69°, longitude 136° west from Greenwich.

farther west must, of course, be situated any passage or sea connecting the Pacific with the part of the ocean into which both those rivers were supposed to empty; and the existence of any such passage east of Bering's Strait became, in consequence, much less probable.

In his second expedition, Mackenzie quitted Fort Chipewyan on the 10th of October, 1792, and ascended the Unjigah or Peace River, from the Athabasca Lake, with much difficulty, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where he spent the winter in camp. In June of the following year, he resumed his voyage up the same stream, which he traced, in a south-west direction, through the mountains, to its springs, near the 54th degree of latitude, distant more than nine hundred miles from its mouth. Within half a mile of one of these springs, he embarked on another stream, called by the natives *Tacoutchee-Tessee*, down which he floated in canoes about two hundred and fifty miles; then, leaving the river, he proceeded westward about two hundred miles over land, and, on the 22d of July, 1793, he reached the Pacific Ocean, at the mouth of an inlet, in the latitude of 52 degrees 20 minutes, which had, a few weeks previous, been surveyed by Vancouver, and been named the *Cascade Canal*. Having thus accomplished a passage across the American continent at its widest part, he retraced his steps to Fort Chipewyan, where he arrived on the 24th of August.

By this expedition, Mackenzie ascertained beyond all doubt the fact of the extension of the American continent, on the Pacific Ocean, undivided by any water passage, as far north as the latitude of 52 degrees 20 minutes; which fact was, about the same time, rendered nearly, though not absolutely, certain by the examinations of Vancouver. The River Tacoutchee-Tessee was supposed to be the upper part of the Columbia, until 1812, when it was traced to its mouth, in the Strait of Fuca, near the 49th degree of latitude; and since that time it has been called *Fraser's River*.

The discoveries of Mackenzie, taken in conjunction with the results of Vancouver's surveys, strengthened the conclusion, at which Cook had arrived, that the American continent extended uninterruptedly north-westward to Bering's Strait; and Mackenzie himself conceived, though certainly without sufficient grounds, that he had clearly determined in the negative the long-agitated question as to the practicability of a voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, around the northern shores of America. For the advancement of British interests in the North Pacific, he recommended that the

Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies, which had been opposed to each other ever since the formation of the latter, should be united; that the British government should favor the establishment of commercial communications across North America, for which the rivers and lakes in the portion claimed by him for that power afforded unrivalled facilities; and that the East India Company should throw open to their fellow-subjects the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, which was then, he says, "left to the adventurers of the United States, acting without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment." These recommendations were not thrown away, but were nearly all adopted by those to whom they were addressed; and the result has been, the extension of British commerce and dominion throughout the whole northern section of America.

Whilst Mackenzie was engaged in his journey to the Pacific coast, Mr. Fidler, a clerk in the service of the North-West Company, made an expedition from Fort Buckingham, a trading-post on the Saskatchewan River, south-westward, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains,* along which he seems to have travelled, through the regions drained by the head-waters of the Missouri. About the same time, several trading voyages were made up the Missouri by the French and Spaniards of St. Louis; particularly by the members of a company formed at that place by a Scotchman named Todd, under the special protection of the Spanish government, the object of which was to monopolize the whole trade of the interior and western portions of the continent.†

The trade of the citizens of the United States with the Indians in the central portion of the continent was much restricted, for many years after the establishment of the independence of the republic, in consequence of the possession of Louisiana by the Spaniards, and the retention by the British of several important posts south of the great lakes, within the territory acknowledged as

* On Arrowsmith's "*Map of all the new Discoveries in North America*," published at London in 1795, several streams are represented, on the authority of Mr. Fidler, as flowing from the Rocky Mountains on both sides; but none corresponding with them in course or position have been since found.

† The journal of one of these voyages, made by M. Trudeau, in 1794, has been preserved in the archives of the Department of State at Washington; it is, however, devoted chiefly to the numbers, manners, customs, religion, &c., of the natives on the banks of the Missouri, particularly of the Arickaras, inhabiting the country under the 46th parallel of latitude.

belonging to the Union, by the treaty of 1783. At length, by the treaty of November 19, 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, it was agreed that these posts should be given up to the Americans, and that the people of both nations, and the Indians "dwelling on either side of the boundary line, should have liberty freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories of the two parties, on the continent of America, (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay only excepted,) and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade with each other." The surrender of these posts, especially of Detroit and Michilimackinac, was very inconvenient to the North-West Company, whilst the trade of the Americans with the central regions was thereby increased; and large quantities of furs were annually transported to the Atlantic cities, principally to New York, from which place they were distributed throughout the United States, or shipped for London or Canton.

On the North Pacific, the direct trade between the American coasts and China remained, from 1796 to 1814, almost entirely, as Mackenzie said, in the hands of the citizens of the United States: the British merchants were restrained from engaging in it by the opposition of their East India Company; the Russians were not admitted into Chinese ports; and few ships of any other nation were seen in that part of the ocean. That these American "*adventurers acted without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment,*" was also, to a certain extent, true; though the facts can scarcely be considered discreditable to them, as Mackenzie insinuated, even supposing their operations to have been conducted in the manner represented by a British writer, whose hostility to the United States and their citizens was even more violent than that of Vancouver.

"These adventurers," says the writer above mentioned,* "set out on the voyage with a few trinkets of very little value. In the Southern Pacific, they pick up some seal-skins, and perhaps a few butts of oil; at the Gallipagos, they lay in turtle, of which they

* Review of "A Voyage around the World, from 1806 to 1812, by Archibald Campbell," in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, written in a spirit of the most deadly hatred towards the United States, and filled with assertions most impudently false.

preserve the shells; at Valparaiso, they raise a few dollars in exchange for European articles; at Nootka, and other parts of the north-west coasts, they traffic with the natives for furs, which, when winter commences, they carry to the Sandwich Islands, to dry and preserve from vermin; here they leave their own people to take care of them, and, in the spring, embark, in Kew, the natives of the islands, to assist in navigating to the north-west coast, in search of more skins. The remainder of the cargo is then made up of sandal, which grows abundantly in the woods of Atooi and Owyhee, of tortoise shells, sharks' fins, and pearls of an inferior kind, [meaning, probably, mother-of-pearl shells,] all of which are acceptable in the China market; and with these and their dollars they purchase cargoes of tea, silks, and nankins, and thus complete their voyage in the course of two or three years."

This account appears to be, in most respects, correct, with regard to many of the American vessels engaged in the Pacific trade at the period to which it relates; and it serves only to prove the industry, energy, courage, and skill, of those who embarked in such difficult and perilous enterprises, and conducted them so successfully. It would, however, be easy to show, from custom-house returns and other authentic evidence, that the greater number of the vessels sent from the United States to the north-west coasts were fine ships or brigs, laden with valuable cargoes of West India productions, British manufactured articles, and French, Italian, and Spanish wines and spirits; and that the owners were men of large capital and high reputation in the commercial world, some of whom were able to compete with the British companies, and even occasionally to control their movements.

The American traders in the Pacific have also been accused, by British writers, of practising every species of fraud and violence in their dealings with the natives of the coasts of that sea: yet the acts cited in support of these general accusations are only such as have been, and ever will be, committed by people of civilized nations,—and by none more frequently than the British,—when unrestrained by laws, in their intercourse with ignorant, brutal, and treacherous savages, always ready to rob or murder upon the slightest prospect of gain, or in revenge for the slightest affront. Seldom did an American ship complete a voyage through the Pacific without the loss of some of her men, by the treachery or the ferocity of the natives of the coasts which she visited; and

several instances have occurred of the seizure of such vessels, and the massacre of their whole crews, in this manner.*

All the islands in the Pacific, and every part of the north-west coasts of America, were visited by the vessels of the United States in the course of these voyages. Their principal places of resort were the Sandwich Islands, where they obtained fresh provisions, and occasionally seamen from among the natives; and the mouth of the Columbia, Nootka Sound, and Queen Charlotte's Island, in which they traded with the Indians for furs. They occasionally touched at the ports of California, where they were, however, viewed with great distrust by the Spanish authorities; and they generally made the tour of the Russian settlements, which derived from the Americans, in this way, the greater part of their supplies of European manufactures, ammunition, sugar, wines, and spirits, in exchange for peltries. The furs were, as before, sold in Canton, at prices not high, though sufficient to encourage a moderate importation; but they seldom formed the whole cargo of the vessels arriving there, the remainder being composed of sandal-wood, and pearl and tortoise shells.

The Sandwich Islands fell in succession under the authority of Tamahamaha, who displayed admirable sagacity in his mode of conducting the government, amid all the dangers and difficulties arising from internal opposition and the constant presence of strangers of various nations. Like the present pacha of Egypt, he was not only the political chief, but also the chief merchant of his territories: in his minor commercial operations he was generally

* In 1805, the ship *Atahualpa*, of Rhode Island, was attacked by the savages in Millbank Sound, and her captain, mate, and six seamen, were killed; after which the other seamen succeeded in repelling the assailants and saving the vessel. In March, 1803, the ship *Boston*, of Boston, while lying at Nootka Sound, was attacked by Maquinna and his followers, who obtained possession of her, and put to death all on board, with the exception of two men, who, after remaining in slavery four years, effected their escape. In the same manner, the ship *Tonquin* was, in June, 1811, seized by the natives, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and her whole crew murdered in a moment, as will be hereafter more particularly related; and other instances of a similar nature might be cited.

The account of the capture of the *Boston*, by John R. Jewitt, the armorer of the ship, contains many curious details respecting the country around Nootka Sound, and its inhabitants, as observed by the author during his residence there, from 1803 to 1807. This little work has been frequently reprinted, and, though seldom found in libraries, is much read by boys and seamen in the United States. It presents the last notices which have been found on record of Maquinna, for whom Jewitt appears to have entertained a great admiration.

successful ; but when he ventured to extend the scale of his speculations, by sending vessels laden with sandal-wood to Canton, he was, as he asserted, always cheated by those to whom he committed the management of the business.

In California, the Franciscan missionaries were proceeding steadily in their course, and the number of their converts was daily increasing. The government appears to have been liberal in the appropriation of funds for their use ; but, in Spanish America, a long time always elapsed between the issue of an order for supplies and their delivery, and a large proportion of the amount originally ordered was generally subtracted before it reached those for whose use it was designed. Soldiers, whose terms had expired, were also, in some cases, allowed to remain in the country ; and the commandants permitted a little contraband trade with the Americans, who introduced manufactured articles in return for hides.

In the mean time, the Russians of Northern Asia, though excluded from the ports of China, continued their commerce with that empire, as also with Europe, as formerly, by means of caravans passing over land ; the communications being conducted principally by a company established at Irkutsk, the great mart of that part of the world. The fur trade of the northernmost coasts of the Pacific was monopolized by the association, formed in 1781, under the direction of Schelikof and Gollikof, which was protected by the empress Catharine, and endowed with many important privileges. After the death of Catharine, in 1794, her son and successor, Paul, at first determined to put an end to the association, on account of the alleged cruelty of its agents towards the natives of the American coasts : he was, however, induced to change his resolution ; and, a union having been effected, in 1798, between the two companies above mentioned, a decree was issued, on the 8th of July of the following year, conceding to them, under the title of the *Russian American Company*, the entire use and control, for twenty years, of all the coasts of America on the Pacific, from the 55th degree of north latitude to Bering's Strait, together with the adjacent islands, including the Kurile and the Aleutian groups, all of which were claimed as having been discovered by Russians. The company was also authorized to explore, and bring under subjection to the imperial crown, any other territories in America not previously attached to the dominions of some civilized nation ; with the express provision that the natives of all these countries should be treated with kindness, and, if possible, be converted to the

Greek Catholic faith. These privileges were confirmed and increased by the emperor Alexander, whose chief minister of state, Count Romanzoff, was a zealous promoter of all that could tend to advance the power and interests of Russia in the Pacific; and the company still enjoys the favor of the government, its charter having been renewed by successive decrees in 1821 and 1839.

Under these advantageous circumstances, combined with great skill and energy in the management of its affairs, and aided by the constant increase of facilities for communication throughout the empire, the Russian American Company prospered; and its establishments soon extended over the whole of the Aleutian Archipelago, and thence eastward along the coast and islands of the American continent, to the distance of more than a thousand miles. In 1803, the most eastern of these establishments was on Norfolk Sound, the Port Guadelupe of the Spaniards, near the 56th degree of latitude, at the southern entrance of the passage which separates Mount San Jacinto or Edgecumb from the largest island of King George III.'s Archipelago. This settlement, founded in 1799, was destroyed, in 1803, by the natives of the country, with the assistance, as it is said, of some seamen who had deserted from an American vessel; but another was formed there in 1805, which received the name of *New Archangel of Sitka*, and has ever since been the capital of Russian America. The other principal establishments of the company were in Unalashka and Kodiak, and on the shores of Cook's Inlet, Prince William's Sound, and Admiralty or Bering's Bay. In 1806, preparations were made for occupying the mouth of the Columbia River; but the plan was abandoned, although that spot, and the whole region north of it, was then, and for some time after continued to be, represented, on the maps published by the company, as within the limits of its rightful possessions.

The population of each of these establishments consisted principally of natives of America, brought by the Russians from other and distant parts of the coast; between whom and the people of the surrounding country there were no ties of kindred or language, and there could be little community of feelings or interests. The Aleutian Islands and Kodiak furnished the greater number of these forced emigrants, and also a large proportion of the crews of the vessels employed in the service of the company. The Russians were enlisted in Kamtchatka and Siberia, for a term of years: they entered as *Promuschleniks*, or *adventurers*, and were employed, according to the will of their superiors, as soldiers, sailors, hunters,

fishermen, or mechanics; in the best of which situations their lot was more wretched than that of any other class of human beings within the pale of civilization, or, indeed, of any other class of persons whatsoever, except the natives of the American coasts, whom they assisted in keeping under subjection. Under such circumstances, it will be easily believed that "none but vagabonds and adventurers ever entered the company's service as Promuschleniks;" that "it was their invariable destiny to pass a life of wretchedness in America;" that "few had the good fortune ever to touch Russian ground again, and very few to attain the object of their wishes by returning to Europe."*

The government of Russian America was arranged on a plan even more despotic than that of the other parts of the empire. The general superintendence of the affairs of the company was in the hands of a *Directory*, residing at St. Petersburg, by which all the regulations and appointments were made, and all questions were decided, with the approval, however, of the imperial department of commerce. All the territories belonging to the company, and all persons and things in them, were placed under the control of a chief agent or governor, residing at Kodiak or Sitka, from whose orders there was no appeal, except to the Directory: in like manner, each district or group of settlements was ruled by an inferior agent, accountable directly to the governor-general; and each factory or settlement was commanded by an overseer, chosen from among the Promuschleniks, who possessed the right to punish, to a certain extent, those within the circle of his authority.

The regulations for the government of these territories were, like those of the Spanish Council of the Indies, generally just and humane; but the enforcement of them, as in Spanish America, was intrusted, for some time, to men with whom justice and humanity were subordinate to expediency. The first chief agent was Alexander Baranof, who had accompanied Schelikof in his expedition in 1783, and was the superintendent of the settlements at Kodiak and Cook's Inlet when Vancouver visited those places in 1794. He was a shrewd, bold, enterprising, and unfeeling man, of iron frame and nerves, and the coarsest habits and manners. By his inflexible severity and energy, he seems to have maintained absolute and independent sway over all the Russian American coasts for more than twenty years; showing little respect to the orders of the Directory,

* Krusenstern's Account of his Voyage to the North Pacific.

and even to those of the emperor, when they were at variance with his own views. He was, however, devoted to the interests of the company, and, its affairs being most profitably managed under his direction, he was allowed to follow his own course, and the complaints against him which reached the Directory were unheeded. These complaints were, it is true, not frequent; for the Directory and the imperial throne at St. Petersburg were almost as completely inaccessible to the subjects and servants of the company residing in America, as they would have been in another planet. Among the inferior agents were men of higher and better character than their chief; but they were forced to bend under his authority, and their efforts to introduce improvements were vain, if they in any degree conflicted with his views as to the immediate interests of the company.

Of the furs which formed the whole returns from these territories, some were transported in the company's vessels to Petropawlowsk and Ochotsk, whence were brought back the greater part of the supplies of provisions for the use of the establishments; the remainder of the furs being exchanged for arms, ammunition, spirits, wine, tobacco, sugar, and European manufactures, furnished by the trading ships of the United States, of which a large number were then constantly employed in the North Pacific. The presence of these American vessels was by no means agreeable to the Russians, who would willingly have excluded them from that part of the ocean, not only for the purpose of monopolizing the fur trade, but also in order to prevent the natives of the coasts from obtaining arms and ammunition from the Americans, as they frequently did, to the detriment of the authority and interests of the company. This, however, could not have been effected without maintaining a large naval force in the North Pacific; nor could the settlements have been extended or supported without the supplies furnished by the Americans, unless a direct intercourse were established by sea with Europe, China, or Japan.

With the view of inquiring what measures would be most effectual for the advancement of the interests of the Russian American Company in these and other respects, it was determined at St. Petersburg, in 1803, that an expedition, scientific and political, should be made through the North Pacific. Two ships, the *Nadeshda*, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and the *Neva*, by Captain Lisiansky, were accordingly despatched from Cronstadt, in August of that year, under the direction of Krusenstern, carrying out a large body of officers and men, distinguished in various

branches of science, together with the chamberlain, Von Resanoff, who was commissioned as ambassador to Japan, and as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Directory.

The two ships passed together around Cape Horn, touched at the Washington and the Sandwich Islands, and then separated; the *Neva* going to the north-west coasts of America, and the *Nadeshda* to Petropawłowsk, where she arrived in the middle of July, 1804. From Kamtchatka, Krusenstern proceeded, with the ambassador, to Nangasaki, the capital of Japan, at which place their arrival only served to excite suspicions: they were not allowed to land, except for the purpose of taking exercise in a confined space; the letter and presents of the Russian emperor were rejected; and the ambassador was distinctly informed that no vessels belonging to his nation would, in future, be permitted to enter a Japanese port. After this rebuff, the *Nadeshda* returned to Kamtchatka, and Krusenstern passed several months in examining the coasts of Tartary and the adjacent islands between that peninsula and Japan; these labors being completed, he went to Canton, where she arrived in the end of November, 1805.

Lisiansky, in the *Neva*, had, in the mean time, visited Sitca, Kodiak, and other Russian establishments, on the north-west coasts of America, at which his presence was advantageous to the interests of the company, by controlling the hostile dispositions of the natives; and having performed all that could be done by him in that quarter, he proceeded to Canton, with a cargo of furs, and there rejoined Krusenstern, in December, 1805. The Chinese were found equally as determined as the Japanese to allow no commerce by sea with the Russians; and many difficulties were experienced before the furs brought by the *Neva* could be landed for sale. This business being at length despatched, the two vessels took their departure, and, sailing around the Cape of Good Hope, reached Cronstadt in August, 1806, having carried the Russian flag for the first time across the equator and around the world.

In the mean time, also, Von Resanoff,—a singularly ridiculous and incompetent person,—after the failure of his embassy to Japan, had gone, as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company, to Sitca, where he passed the winter of 1805–1806, engaged in devising plans for the conduct of the company's affairs, all of which were quietly set aside by the chief agent, Baranof. The propriety of expelling the Americans from the North Pacific was at the same time rendered questionable, by the fact that the garrison and set-

tlers at this place would have all perished from famine, had they not fortunately been supplied with provisions by the ship *Juno*, from Rhode Island. This ship was purchased for the use of the company, and Von Resanoff, embarking in her, sailed along the coast to California, endeavoring, in his way, but without success, to enter the mouth of the Columbia, where he proposed to form a settlement; and having spent some time in trifling at San Francisco, he returned to Kamtchatka, on his way from which to Europe he died.

Though not one of the commercial or political objects proposed by this expedition was attained, it was, nevertheless, productive of great advantages, not only to the Russians, but to the cause of humanity and of science in general; particularly by the rectification of numerous errors in the charts of the Pacific Ocean, and by the exposure of the abuses in the administration of the Russian American Company's dominions, which led to the immediate removal of many of them. No one could have been better qualified for the direction of such an expedition than Krusenstern, whose narrative is equally honorable to him as a commander, as a man of science, and as a philanthropist. Those who wish to learn at what cost of human life and suffering the furs of the North Pacific coasts are procured, will find ample information on the subject in his pages; while, at the same time, he presents instances of fortitude, perseverance, and good feeling, on the part of his countrymen, calculated to counteract, in a great measure, the unfavorable impressions, with regard to them, which his other details might have produced.*

In 1808, soon after the return of Krusenstern's ships to Europe, diplomatic relations were established between Russia and the United States; and in the following year, a representation was addressed by the court of St. Petersburg to the government of the Union, on the subject of the *illicit trade* of American citizens with the natives of the North Pacific coasts, by means of which those savages were supplied with arms and ammunition, to the prejudice of the authority and interests of the emperor and his people in that portion

* Accounts of this expedition have been published by Krusenstern, by Lisianaky, and by Langsdorf, the surgeon of the *Nadeshda*, all of which have been translated into English and other European languages.

Krusenstern was, soon after his return to Russia, raised to the rank of admiral. He still lives at St. Petersburg, honored by his government, and esteemed by all who know him. His communications frequently appear in the reports of the proceedings of various scientific societies in Europe; they are chiefly respecting the hydrography of the Pacific Ocean, to which subject his labors have been long and assiduously devoted, with results important and beneficial to the whole world.

of his dominions. A desire was at the same time expressed, that some act should be passed by Congress, or some convention be concluded between the two nations, which might have the effect of preventing the continuance of such irregularities. No disposition being shown by the American government to adopt any of those measures, Count Romanzoff, the minister of foreign affairs at St. Petersburg, proposed to Mr. John Quincy Adams, the plenipotentiary of the United States at that court, an arrangement, by which the vessels of the Union should supply the Russian settlements on the Pacific with provisions and manufactures, and should transport the furs of the company to Canton, under the restriction of their abstaining from all intercourse with the natives of the north-west coasts of America. Mr. Adams, in his answer, showed several reasons for which his government could not, with propriety, accede to this proposition; and he moreover desired to know *within what limits it was expected that the restriction should be observed*. This question was, doubtless, embarrassing to the Russian minister, who, however, after some time, replied, that *the Russian American Company claimed the whole coast of America on the Pacific and the adjacent islands, from Bering's Strait, southward to and beyond the mouth of the Columbia River*; whereupon the correspondence was immediately terminated.

There was, certainly, no disposition, on the part of the United States, to encourage their citizens in the trade which formed the subject of the complaints of the Russians, or to offend that power by refusing to coöperate in suppressing such a trade. But the American government properly considered that no means existed for enforcing the restrictions, with justice and regularity, even on the coasts which might be admitted to belong to Russia; while, at the same time, the right of that nation to the possession of the coasts so far south as the Columbia, could not be recognized, for reasons which will be made apparent in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

1803 to 1806.

Cession of Louisiana by France to the United States — Inquiries as to the true Extent of Louisiana — Erroneous Supposition that its Limits towards the North had been fixed by Commissaries agreeably to the Treaty of Utrecht — President Jefferson sends Lewis and Clarke to examine the Missouri and Columbia — Account of their Expedition from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

THE discovery, or rediscovery, of the Columbia River, by Gray, remained almost entirely unknown, until it was communicated to the world by the publication of the narrative of Vancouver's expedition, in 1798; at which time, and for several years afterwards, no one imagined that any thing connected with that river would ever become particularly interesting to the people or government of the United States of America.

The territories of the United States were, at that time, all included between the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Mississippi River on the west. In the north were the British provinces; in the south lay Florida, belonging to Spain; and beyond the Mississippi, the Spaniards also claimed the vast region called Louisiana, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward and north-westward to an undefined extent. Thus all communication between the States of the Federal Union and the Pacific was completely cut off, by the interposition of countries possessed by foreign and unfriendly nations.

The position of the United States, and of their government and people, with regard to the north-western portion of the continent, was, however, entirely changed after the 30th of April, 1803, when Louisiana, which had been ceded by Spain to France in 1800, came into their possession, by purchase from the latter power. From that moment, the route across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific lay open to the Americans; and nothing could be anticipated capable of arresting their progress in the occupation of the whole territory included between those seas.

Before relating the measures taken by the government of the United States in consequence of the acquisition of Louisiana, it will

be convenient to present some observations respecting the northern and western limits of that portion of America.

The first discovery of the southern part of the Mississippi and the adjacent countries, by the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, has been already mentioned. The northern branches of that river were explored in the latter years of the seventeenth century, by the French, from Canada;* and before 1710, many French colonies and posts had been established on its banks, in virtue of which, King Louis XIV. claimed possession of all the territories to a great distance on either side of the stream. In 1712, the exclusive trade of the southern division of these territories, then called *Louisiana*, was granted by King Louis to Antoine Crozat, in a royal decree or charter, bearing date the 17th of September, which contains the earliest exposition of the limits of that region. The words of the decree are as follows: †
 “ Nous avons par ces présentes, signées de notre main, établi et établissons ledit Sieur Crozat, pour faire seul, le commerce dans toutes les terres par Nous possédées, et bornées par le Nouveau Mexique, et par celles des Anglais de la Caroline, tous les établissements, ports, havres, rivières, et principalement le port et havre de l'isle Dauphine, appelée autrefois de Massacre, le fleuve St. Louis, autrefois appelée Mississippi, depuis le bord de la mer jusqu'aux Illinois, ensemble les rivières St. Philippe, autrefois appelée des Missourys, et St. Hierosme, autrefois appelée Ouabache, avec tous les pays, contrées, lacs dans les terres, et les rivières qui tombent directement ou indirectement dans cette partie du fleuve St. Louis. Voulons

* Jeffreys—or whoever wrote the history of the French dominions in America, published under the name of Jeffreys, in 1769—says, at p. 134 of that work, “ The Mississippi, the chief of all the rivers of Louisiana, which it divides almost into two equal parts, was discovered by Colonel Wood, who spent almost ten years, or from 1654 to 1664, in searching its course, as also by Captain Bolt, in 1670.”

† “ We have, by these presents, signed with our hand, authorized, and do authorize, the said Sieur Crozat, to carry on exclusively the trade in all the territories by us possessed, and bounded by New Mexico and by those of the English in Carolina, all the establishments, ports, harbors, rivers, and especially the port and harbor of Dauphin Island, formerly called Massacre Island, the River St. Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the sea-shore to the Illinois, together with the Rivers St. Philip, formerly called the Missouries River, and the St. Jerome, formerly called the Wabash, [the Ohio,] with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or indirectly into that part of the River St. Louis. All the said territories, countries, rivers, streams, and islands, we will to be and remain comprised under the name of the government of Louisiana, which shall be dependent on the general government of New France, and remain subordinate to it; and we will, moreover, that all the territories which we possess on this side of the Illinois, be united, as far as need be, to the general government of New France, and form a part thereof; reserving to ourselves, nevertheless, to increase, if we judge proper, the extent of the government of the said country of Louisiana.”

que les dites terres, contrées, fleuves, rivières et isles, soient et demeurent compris sous le nom du gouvernement de la Louisiane, qui sera dependant du gouvernement général de la Nouvelle France, auquel il demeurera subordonné ; et voulons en outre, que toutes les terres que nous possédons, depuis les Illinois, soient reunies, en tant que besoin est, au gouvernement général de la Nouvelle France, et en fassent partie ; Nous reservant néanmoins d'augmenter, si nous le jugeons à propos, l'étendue du gouvernement du dit pays de la Louisiane."

This description of the extent of Louisiana was sufficiently definite for the immediate purposes of the concession : as the trade and settlement of the country would necessarily be, for a long time, confined to the vicinity of the great rivers, the precise determination of its boundaries on the east and the west might well be deferred for future arrangement with Great Britain and Spain. Crozat relinquished his privilege in 1717 ; the Illinois country was then annexed to Louisiana, by a royal decree, and the whole region was granted to the *Compagnie d'Orient*, better known as *Law's Mississippi Company*, which held it until 1732 : in that year it reverted to the French crown, and was governed as a French province until 1769. On the 3d of November, 1762, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, between France and Spain on the one part, and England and Portugal on the other ; and on the same day, "the most Christian king authorized his minister, the duke de Choiseul, to deliver to the marquis di Grimaldi, the ambassador of the Catholic king, in the most authentic form, an act, whereby his most Christian majesty cedes, in entire possession, purely and simply, without exception, to his Catholic majesty, and his successors in perpetuity, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as also New Orleans and the island in which that city is situated." The cession accordingly took place in form, on the 23d of the same month, in precisely the same terms as to the extent of the territory ceded ; * and on the 10th of February following, a treaty was concluded at Paris, between France and Spain on the one part, and Great Britain and Portugal on the other, by which Great Britain obtained possession of Canada, Florida, and the portion of Louisiana "east of a line, drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to

* The documents relating to this cession were kept secret until 1836, when copies of them were obtained from the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs at Madrid, by the late J. M. White, of Florida ; from which translations were made by the author of this History, and published by the Senate of the United States, in 1837.

the River Iberville, and thence along the middle of the Iberville, and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea."

By these treaties, the eastern boundary of Louisiana was definitively fixed, from the Mexican Gulf to the head of the Mississippi; and Great Britain, at the same time, formally renounced all her claims to the territories west of that river. With regard to the western limits of Louisiana, no settlement of boundaries was necessary; as the territory thus acquired by Spain would join other territories, of which she also claimed possession.

The transfer of Louisiana by France to Spain was not officially promulgated until 1765; nor did the Spaniards obtain possession of the country until 1769, from which period they occupied it continually, until the 30th of November, 1803. In the mean time, Louisiana twice changed its masters. On the 1st of October, 1800, a treaty was concluded between the French republic and the king of Spain, by which the former party engaged to enlarge the dominions of the duke of Parma, a prince of the royal family of Spain, by adding to them some other territories in Italy; and his Catholic majesty, by the third article, "engaged, on his part, to retrocede to the French republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above-mentioned conditions and stipulations relative to the duke of Parma, *the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it now has in the hands of Spain, and which it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be, according to the treaties subsequently made between Spain and other states.*"* The conditions relative to the duke of Parma having been fulfilled by France, Louisiana became the property of that republic; between which and the United States of America a treaty was concluded, on the 30th of April, 1803, wherein, after reciting the third article of the treaty of 1800, the territory thus retroceded to France was "*ceded to the United States, in the name of the French republic, forever, and in full sovereignty, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully, and in the same manner, as they have been acquired by the French republic, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty with his Catholic majesty.*"

* The treaty of October 1st, 1800, was never made public until 1820, when it appeared, for the first time, in the French and the Spanish languages, in the Memoir published at Madrid by the Chevalier de Onis, formerly minister plenipotentiary of Spain in the United States, in defence of his conduct, in concluding the treaty by which Florida became the property of the American Union.

At the time when the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States was concluded, the Spaniards still remained in possession of the country ; the order from the court of Madrid for the delivery to France, was not executed until the 30th of November, 1804, twenty days after which the surrender to the American commissioners took place in due form at New Orleans. The Spanish government had already protested against the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, as being contrary to engagements previously made by France, of which, however, no proof was adduced ; and some disposition was at first manifested on the part of the Spanish authorities at New Orleans, and in the provinces of Mexico adjacent, to dispute the entrance of the Americans. This opposition was, however, abandoned, and a negotiation was commenced at Madrid, in 1804, between the governments of the United States and Spain, for the adjustment of the lines which were to separate their respective territories.

In this negotiation, the United States claimed the whole of the territory ceded by France to Spain in 1762, with the exception of the portion east of the Mississippi, which had been surrendered to Great Britain in 1763 ; and this territory was considered by them as including the whole coast on the Mexican Gulf, from the Perdido River as the western limit of Florida, west and south to the River Bravo del Norte as the north-east boundary of Mexico, with all the intermediate rivers and all the countries drained by them, not previously possessed by the United States. The Spanish government, on its side, contended — that France had never rightfully possessed any part of America west of the Mississippi, the whole of which had belonged to Spain ever since its discovery — that the French establishments in that territory were all intrusive, and had only been tolerated by Spain, for the sake of preserving peace ; and — that the Louisiana ceded to Spain by France in 1762, and retroceded to France in 1800, and transferred by the latter power to the United States in 1803, could not, in justice, be considered as comprising more than New Orleans, with the tract in its vicinity east of the Mississippi, and the country immediately bordering on the west bank of that river. The parties were thus completely at variance on fundamental principles ; and, neither being disposed to yield, the negotiation, after having been carried on for some months, was broken off, and it was not renewed until 1817. Meanwhile, however, the United States remained in possession of nearly all the

territories drained by the Mississippi; the Sabine River being, by tacit consent, regarded as the dividing line between Louisiana and the Mexican provinces.

A negotiation was at the same time in progress, between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, respecting the northern boundary of Louisiana, for which the Americans claimed a line running along the 49th parallel of latitude, upon the grounds that *this parallel had been adopted and definitively settled, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, in 1713, as the dividing line between the French possessions of Western Canada and Louisiana on the south, and the British territories of Hudson's Bay on the north*; and that, this treaty having been specially confirmed in the treaty of 1763, by which Canada and the part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi and Iberville were ceded to Great Britain, the remainder of Louisiana continued, as before, bounded on the north by the 49th parallel.

This conclusion would be undeniable, if the premises on which it is founded were correct. The tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht does certainly stipulate that commissaries should be appointed by the governments of Great Britain and France respectively, to determine the line of separation between their possessions in the northern part of America above specified; and there is reason to believe that persons were commissioned for that object; *but there is no evidence which can be admitted as establishing the fact that a line running along the 49th parallel of latitude, or any other line, was ever adopted, or even proposed, by those commissaries, or by their governments, as the limit of any part of the French possessions on the north, and of the British Hudson's Bay territories on the south.*

It is true that, on some maps of Northern America, published in the middle of the last century, a line drawn along the 49th parallel does appear as a part of the boundary between the French possessions and the Hudson's Bay territories, as settled according to the treaty of Utrecht: but, on other maps, which are deservedly held in higher estimation, a different line, following the course of the highlands encircling Hudson's Bay, is presented as the limit of the Hudson's Bay territory, agreeably to the same treaty; and, in other maps again, enjoying equal, if not greater, consideration, as having been published under the immediate direction of the British gov-

ernment, *no line separating those British possessions from Louisiana or Canada is to be seen.* In the other works, political, historical, and geographical, which have been examined with reference to this question, nothing has been found calculated to sustain the belief *that any line of separation was ever settled, or even proposed*; nor has any trace of such an agreement been discovered in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs of France, which have been searched with the view of ascertaining the fact.*

The belief, nevertheless, that the 49th parallel of latitude was fixed, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, as the northern limit of Louisiana and Western Canada, has been hitherto universally entertained without suspicion in the United States, and has formed the basis of most important treaties.

During the negotiations above mentioned, between the United States and Great Britain, no attempt was made, on the part of the latter power, to controvert the assertion of the Americans respecting this supposed boundary line; and, in the fifth of the additional and explanatory articles proposed to be annexed to the treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries on that occasion, it was agreed that "a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the 49th parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the dividing line between his majesty's territories and those of the United States, to the westward of the said lake, as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter; and that the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary of his majesty's said territories and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the north-west coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the continent of America to the westward of the Stony Mountains." † This article was approved by both governments; President Jefferson, nevertheless, wished that the *proviso* respecting the north-west coast should be omitted, as it "could have little other effect than as an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific Ocean. However reasonable such claims may be, compared with those of others, it is impolitic, espe-

* See the complete investigation of this subject in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter F.

† President Jefferson's Message to Congress of March 22d, 1803.

cially at the present moment, to strengthen Spanish jealousies of the United States, which it is probably an object with Great Britain to excite, by the clause in question." The outrage committed by the British upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, together with the change in the British ministry, prevented the ratification of this treaty; and the discussion of boundaries was not renewed until 1814.

How far Louisiana extended westward when it was ceded by France to Spain, there are no means of determining. The question has never been touched in treaties, nor even in negotiations, so far as known. The French maps and histories are, in general, so entirely erroneous as regards the geography of America, and always so absurd in their statements as to the extent of the French dominions, that they are of no value as evidence; while the charters of the British sovereigns appear, at present, scarcely less extravagant. Those charters, embracing, together, the whole division of North America between the 48th and the 31st parallels of latitude, were, nevertheless, maintained by Great Britain until the peace of 1763, when her government, by agreeing to admit the Mississippi as the line of separation between her dominions and those of France on the west, implicitly recognized the right of the latter power to the whole territory beyond that river, between the same parallels; and Louisiana always embraced all the French possessions west of the Mississippi. In the absence of more direct light on the subject from history, we are forced to regard the boundaries indicated by nature — namely, the highlands separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific or the Californian Gulf — as the true western boundaries of the Louisiana ceded by France to Spain in 1762, and retroceded to France in 1800, and transferred to the United States by France in 1803: but then it must also be admitted, for the same as well as for another and stronger reason, that the British possessions farther north were bounded in the west by the same chain of highlands; for the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, on which the right to those possessions was founded and maintained, expressly included only the countries traversed by streams emptying into Hudson's Bay.

Even before the transfer of Louisiana to the United States was completed, the prompt and sagacious Jefferson, then president of the republic, was preparing to have that part of the continent examined by American agents. In January, 1803, he addressed to the Congress of the Union a confidential Message, recommending that means should be taken for the purpose without delay; and,

his suggestions having been approved, he commissioned Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to explore the River Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and then to seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific, some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." Other persons were, at the same time, appointed to examine the Upper Mississippi, and the principal streams falling into that great river from the west, below the Missouri, in order that exact information might, as soon as possible, be procured, with regard to the channels of communication throughout the newly-acquired territories.

A few days after Lewis had received his instructions as commander of the party which was to cross the continent, the news of the conclusion of the treaty for the cession of Louisiana reached the United States; and he immediately set off for the west, with the expectation of advancing some distance up the Missouri before the winter. He was, however, unable to pass the Mississippi in that year, in consequence of the delay in the surrender of the country, which was not terminated until the latter part of December; and it was not until the middle of May, 1804, that he could begin the ascent of the Missouri. His party consisted of forty-four men, who were embarked in three boats; their progress against the current of the mighty river was necessarily slow, yet, before the end of October, they arrived in the country of the Mandan Indians, where they remained until the following April, encamped at a place near the 48th degree of latitude, sixteen hundred miles from the Mississippi.

On the 7th of April, 1805, Lewis and Clarke left their encampment in the Mandan country, with thirty men, the others having been sent back to St. Louis; and, after a voyage of three weeks up the Missouri, they reached the junction of that river with the other principal branch, scarcely inferior in magnitude, called by the old French traders the *Roche jaune*, or *Yellowstone River*. Thence continuing their progress westward on the main stream, their navigation was, on the 13th of June, arrested by the *Great Falls of the Missouri*, a series of cataracts extending about ten miles in length, in the principal of which the whole river rushes over a precipice of rock eighty-seven feet in height. Above the falls, the party again embarked in canoes hollowed out from the trunks of the largest cotton-wood trees, growing near the river; and, advancing south-

ward, they, on the 19th of July, passed through the *Gates of the Rocky Mountains*, where the Missouri, emerging from that chain, runs, for six miles, in a narrow channel, between perpendicular parapets of black rock, rising twelve hundred feet above its surface. Beyond this place, the river is formed by the confluence of several streams, the largest of which, named by Lewis the *Jefferson*, was ascended to its sources, near the 44th degree of latitude, where the navigation of the Missouri ends, at the distance of about three thousand miles from its entrance into the Mississippi.

Whilst the canoes were ascending the Jefferson River, Captains Lewis and Clarke, with some of their men, proceeded through the mountains, and soon found streams flowing towards the west, one of which was traced in that direction, by Clarke, for seventy miles; they also met several parties of Indians belonging to a nation called *Shoshonees*, from whose accounts they were convinced that those streams were the head-waters of the Columbia. Having received this satisfactory information, the commanders rejoined their men at the head of the Jefferson; and preparations were commenced for pursuing the journey by land. For this purpose, the canoes and a portion of the goods were concealed in *caches*, or covered pits, and a number of horses, with some guides, being procured from the Shoshonees, the whole body of the Americans, on the 30th of August, entered on the passage through the Rocky Mountains.

Up to this period, the difficulties of the journey had been comparatively light, and the privations few. But, during the three weeks which the Americans spent in passing the Rocky Mountains, they underwent, as Clarke says, "every suffering which hunger, cold, and fatigue, could impose." The mountains were high, and the passes through them rugged, and, in many places, covered with snow; and their food consisted of berries, dried fish, and the meat of dogs or horses, of all which the supplies were scanty and precarious. They crossed many streams, some of them large, which emptied into the Columbia; but their guides gave them no encouragement to embark on any, until they reached one called the *Kooskooskee*, in the latitude of 43 degrees 34 minutes, about four hundred miles, by their route, from the head of navigation of the Missouri.

At this place, they constructed five canoes, and, leaving their horses in charge of a tribe of Indians of the *Chopunnish* nation, they, on the 7th of October, began the descent of the *Kooskooskee*. Three days afterwards, they entered the principal southern branch.

of the Columbia, to which they gave the name of *Lewis*; and, in seven days more, they reached the point of its confluence with the larger northern branch, called by them the *Clarke*. They were then fairly launched on the *Great River of the West*, and passing down it, through many dangerous rapids, they, on the 31st, arrived at the *Falls of the Columbia*, where it rushes through the lofty chain of mountains nearest the Pacific. Some of their canoes descended these falls in safety; the others and the goods were carried around by land, and replaced in the water at the foot of the cataract. At a short distance below, the tides of the Pacific were observed; and, on the 15th of November, the whole party landed on Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia, about six hundred miles from the place at which they had embarked on its waters, and more than four thousand, by their route, from the mouth of the Missouri.

The winter, or rather the rainy season, having commenced when the party reached the mouth of the Columbia, it became necessary for them to remain there until the following spring. They accordingly prepared a habitation on the north side of the river, eleven miles in a straight line from Cape Disappointment, from which they were, however, soon driven by the floods; they then found a suitable spot on the south side, a little higher up, where they formed their dwelling, called by them *Fort Clatsop*, and remained until the middle of March, 1806. During this period, the cold was by no means severe, less so, indeed, than on the Atlantic shore of the continent ten degrees farther south; but the rains were incessant and violent, and the river being at the same time generally too much agitated by the winds and the waves from the ocean for the Americans to venture on it in their canoes, they were often unable to obtain provisions, either by hunting or fishing. The *Clatsop* Indians who occupy the south side of the Columbia, at its mouth, and the *Chinnooks*, on the opposite shore, conducted themselves peaceably; but their prices for every thing which they offered for sale were so high, that no trade could be carried on with them. The party were, in consequence of the rains, seldom able to quit their encampment; and the only excursion of any length made by them during the winter, was as far as the promontory overhanging the Pacific, thirty miles south of the Columbia, which they called *Clarke's Point of View*, near the Cape Lookout of Meares.

On the 23d of March, 1806, the Americans commenced the ascent of the Columbia in canoes, on their return to the United States. Proceeding slowly up the river, they carefully examined

its shores, and discovered a large stream, called by the natives the *Cowelitz*, flowing into it from the north, at the distance of sixty miles from the ocean. Thirty miles higher up, they found another and much larger stream, joining the Columbia on the south side, the Indian name of which was supposed to be *Multonomah*; it is now, however, universally known as the *Willamet*, and on its banks are situated the most flourishing settlements as yet formed by citizens of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains.

In the middle of April, the exploring party reached the foot of the great rapids, below the Falls of the Columbia, where they abandoned their canoes, and began their journey by land, on horses purchased from the Indians. In this way, they traversed the gap or defile in the mountains through which the river pours its floods, and then, pursuing their course over the elevated plains east of that ridge, they arrived, on the 8th of May, at the point on the Kooskooskee River, where they had left their horses, and first embarked on the waters of the Columbia, in the preceding year. From this place, they continued on horseback due eastward, through the Rocky Mountains, to the Clarke River, which flows for some distance in a northerly direction from its sources, before turning southward to join the other branches of the Columbia; and there it was agreed that the chiefs of the expedition should separate, to meet again at the confluence of the Yellowstone with the Missouri.

The separation took place on the 3d of July, near the point at which the Clarke River is crossed by the 47th parallel of latitude, due west of the Falls of the Missouri. Captain Lewis and his party proceeded some distance northward, down the Clarke, and then, quitting it, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of *Maria River*, which empties into the Missouri just below the falls. There they met a band of Indians belonging to the numerous and daring race called the *Black-foot*, who infest the plains at the base of the mountains, and are ever at war with all other tribes; these savages attempted to seize the rifles of the Americans, and Lewis was obliged to kill one of them before they desisted. The party then hastened to the Missouri, which they reached at the falls, and thence floated down to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Meanwhile, the others, under Clarke, rode southward up the valley of the Clarke River, to its sources; and, after exploring several passes in the mountains between that point and the head-waters of the Yellowstone, they embarked in canoes on the latter

stream, and descended it to the Missouri, where they joined Lewis and his men on the 12th of August.

From the point of confluence of the two rivers, the whole body moved down the Missouri; and, on the 23d of September, 1806, they arrived in safety at St. Louis, having travelled, in the course of their expedition, more than nine thousand miles.

The preceding sketch of the long and difficult expedition of Lewis and Clarke will serve to show the general course of their routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific. As to the priority and extent of their geographical discoveries, a few words will suffice. The Missouri had been ascended, by the French and Spanish traders, to the mouth of the Yellowstone, long before Lewis and Clarke embarked on it; but ample proofs are afforded, by the maps drawn prior to their expedition, that no information even approximating to correctness had been obtained respecting the river and the countries in its vicinity. With regard to the territory between the great Falls of the Missouri and those of the Columbia, and the branches of either river joining it above its falls, we have no accounts whatsoever earlier than those derived from the journals of the American exploring party. The Tacoutchee-Tessee, navigated by Mackenzie in 1793, and supposed by him to be a branch of the Columbia, was afterwards discovered to be a different stream, now called *Fraser's River*, emptying into the Strait of Fuca; and no evidence has been adduced of the passage of any white person through the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, north of California, from the time of Mackenzie's journey to that of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke.*

Politically, the expedition was an announcement to the world of the intention of the American government to occupy and settle the countries explored, to which certainly no other nation except Spain could advance so strong a claim on the grounds of discovery or of contiguity; and the government and people of the United States thus virtually incurred the obligation to prosecute and carry into

* The journal of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke was not published until 1814, when it appeared nearly in the same state in which it came from the hands of Lewis, shortly before the melancholy termination of his existence. It affords abundant proofs of the powers of observation possessed by those who were engaged in the enterprise, and the mass of facts, geographically, commercially, and politically important, which it contains, causes it still to be regarded as the principal source of information respecting the geography, the natural history, and the aboriginal inhabitants, of the portions of America traversed by the Missouri and the Columbia.

fulfilment the great ends for which the labors of Lewis and Clarke were the first preparatory measures.

During the absence of Lewis and Clarke, other persons were engaged, under the orders of the government of the United States, in exploring different parts of the interior of Louisiana. Lieutenant Pike ascended the Mississippi to its head-waters, near the 48th degree of latitude, where he obtained much useful information respecting the course of that stream, and the numbers, characters, and dispositions, of the Indians in its vicinity, as well as concerning the trade and establishments of the North-West Company in that quarter. Having completed this expedition, Pike, in 1806, undertook another, in the course of which he travelled south-westward from the mouth of the Missouri, to the upper waters of the Arkansas, the Red River, and the Rio Bravo del Norte: on the latter river, he and his party were made prisoners by the Spaniards of Santa Fé, who carried them southward as far as the city of Chihuahua, and thence, through Texas, to the United States. The Red and Washita Rivers were at the same time explored, to a considerable distance from the Mississippi, by Messrs. Dunbar, Hunter, and Sibley, whose journals, as well as those of Pike, subsequently published, contain many interesting descriptions of those parts of America.

Thus, within three or four years after Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, it ceased to be an unknown region, and the principal features of the territory drained by the Columbia were displayed.

CHAPTER XIV.

1806 to 1815.

First Establishments of the North-West Company in the Countries north of the Columbia—Pacific Fur Company formed at New York—Plan of its Founder—First Expedition from New York in the Tonquin—Foundation of Astoria near the Mouth of the Columbia River—Destruction of the Tonquin by the Savages—March of the Party under Hunt and Crooks across the Continent—Arrival of the Beaver in the Columbia—War between the United States and Great Britain fatal to the Enterprise—Establishments of the Pacific Company sold to the North-West Company—Astoria taken by the British—Dissolution of the Pacific Company.

THE expeditions of Lewis and Clarke, and Pike, did not fail to attract the attention, and to excite the jealousy, of the British government and trading companies. Pike had restrained the incursions of the North-West Company's people into the territories of the Upper Mississippi, and had lessened their influence over the Indians inhabiting those regions. From the moment when Lewis and Clarke appeared on the Missouri, their movements were watched by the agents of the British Association; and, so soon as it was ascertained that they were ordered to explore the Columbia, preparations were made to anticipate the Americans in the settlement of that portion of the continent, for which the expedition of those officers was evidently intended to open the way. A party of the North-West Company's men was accordingly despatched, in 1805, under the direction of Mr. Laroque, to establish posts and occupy territories on the Columbia; but this party proceeded no farther than the Mandan villages on the Missouri. In the following year, 1806, another party was despatched from Fort Chipewyan, under Mr. Simon Fraser, who crossed the Rocky Mountains near the passage of the Peace River, and formed a trading establishment on a small lake, now called *Fraser's Lake*, situated in the 54th degree of latitude. *This was the first settlement or post of any kind made by British subjects west of the Rocky Mountains.* Other posts were subsequently formed in the same country, which, in 1808, received from the traders the name of *New Caledonia*; but it does

not appear, from any evidence as yet adduced, that any part of the waters of the Columbia, or of the country through which they flow, was seen by persons in the service of the North-West Company until 1811.*

In the mean time, several establishments had been formed by citizens of the United States on the Columbia and its branches.

Before the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, the trade of the Missouri and the adjacent countries inhabited by the Indians, had been granted by the Spanish government to Manuel Lisa, a merchant of St. Louis, who continued to conduct it almost exclusively until 1806. After the return of Lewis and Clarke, other individuals engaged in the business, the competition between whom occasioned many and serious disputes; until at length, in 1808, an association, called the *Missouri Fur Company*, was formed among

* Many interesting details respecting the proceedings of the North-West Company, and the geography of the parts of America in which its establishments are situated, may be found in the journal of D. W. Harmon, a native of Vermont, who was a partner in that company, and the superintendent of all its affairs beyond the Rocky Mountains for several years. This journal was published at Andover, in Massachusetts, in 1819, but is now nearly out of print: a review of it, containing many curious extracts, may be seen in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822.

With regard to the dates of the earliest establishments of the North-West Company beyond the Rocky Mountains, the following extracts from Harmon's journal may be considered as decisive evidence:—

"*Saturday, November 24th, 1804.*—Some people have just arrived from Montagne la Basse, with a letter from Mr. Chaboillez, who informs me that two captains, Clarke and Lewis, with one hundred and eighty soldiers, have arrived at the Mandan village, on the Missouri River, which place is situated about three days' distance from the residence of Mr. Chaboillez. They have invited Mr. Chaboillez to visit them. It is said that, on their arrival, they hoisted the American flag, and informed the natives that their object was not to trade, but merely to explore the country, and that, as soon as the navigation shall open, they design to continue their route across the Rocky Mountains, and thence descend to the Pacific Ocean.

"*Wednesday, April 10th, 1805.*—While at Montagne la Basse, Mr. Chaboillez induced me to consent to undertake a long and arduous tour of discovery. I am to leave that place about the beginning of June, accompanied by six or seven Canadians, and two or three Indians. The first place at which we shall stop will be the Mandan village, on the Missouri River; thence we shall steer our course towards the Rocky Mountains, accompanied by a number of the Mandan Indians, who proceed in that direction, every spring, to meet and trade with another tribe of Indians, who reside on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. [This journey I never undertook: a Mr. La Roque attempted to make this tour, but went no farther than the Mandan village.]"

At page 281, Harmon says, "The part of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, with which I am acquainted, has, ever since the North-West Company first made an establishment there, which was in 1806, gone by the name of *New Caledonia*," &c. And in many places he speaks of Mr. Simon Fraser as having led the first company of traders beyond the Rocky Mountains, in 1806.

the principal traders in that part of America, by which posts were established on the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and even beyond the Rocky Mountains. The trading post founded by Mr. Henry, one of the agents of the Missouri Company, on a branch of the Lewis River, the great southern arm of the Columbia, appears to have been the earliest establishment of any kind made by people of a civilized nation in the territory drained by the latter stream; the enmity of the savages in its vicinity, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, however, obliged Mr. Henry to abandon it in 1810.

In that year, an attempt was made by Captain Smith, the commander of the ship *Albatross*, from Boston, to found a post for trade with the Indians at a place called Oak Point, on the south bank of the Columbia, about forty miles from its mouth. For this purpose a house was built and a garden was laid out and planted there; but the site was badly chosen in all respects, and the scheme was abandoned before the close of the year.

In the same year, 1810, an association was formed at New York, for the prosecution of the fur trade in the central and north-western parts of the continent, in connection with the China trade, of which a particular account will be presented, as the transactions attending the enterprise led to important political results.

This association was called the *Pacific Fur Company*.* At its head was John Jacob Astor, a German merchant of New York, who had been for many years extensively engaged in the commerce of the Pacific and China, and also in the trade with the Indian countries in the centre of the American continent, and, by his prudence and skill, had thus accumulated an immense fortune, ere he passed the meridian of life. He devised the scheme; he advanced the capital requisite for carrying it into execution, and he directed all

* The following account of the proceedings of the Pacific Fur Company is derived chiefly from — *Adventures on the Columbia River, &c.*, by Ross Cox. London, 1831. — *Relation d'un Voyage à la Côte Nord-Ouest, de l'Amérique Septentrionale, dans les Années 1810-14*, par Gabriel Franchère. Montreal, 1820. [Franchère went out with the first party in the *Tonquin*; Cox went out in the *Beaver*, and they both returned to Canada by way of the lakes.] — *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*, by Washington Irving, Philadelphia, 1836; the latter author gives the most complete account of the circumstances, particularly of the adventures of the parties under Hunt, Crooks, and Stuart, derived from their statements and the papers in the possession of Mr. Astor, to which he had access. In addition to these authorities, several letters and papers, addressed by Mr. Astor to the executive of the United States, have been examined, and some communications have been personally received from that gentleman. One of his letters, containing a summary of the circumstances connected with his enterprise, will be found among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, at the end of this volume, under the letter G.

the operations. His first objects were to concentrate in the hands of the company the fur trade of every part of the unsettled territories of America claimed by the United States, and also the supply of the Russian establishments on the North Pacific, which was to be conducted agreeably to arrangements made with the Russian American Company, similar to those proposed by the government of St. Petersburg to the cabinet at Washington, as already mentioned ; and by the attainment of these first objects, he expected to be able to control, if not exclusively to possess, the whole commerce between the ports of China and those of America, and of a large portion of Europe.

For these purposes, posts were to be established on the Missouri, the Columbia, and the coasts of the Pacific contiguous to the latter river, at which places the furs were to be collected by trade with the Indians, or by hunters in the employ of the company. The posts were to be supplied with the merchandise required, either by way of the Missouri, or by ships despatched from the ports of the United States to the North Pacific ; and the furs collected were to be carried either down the Missouri to the Atlantic ports of the Union, or westward to the establishments of the company on the Pacific. The merchandise sent to the Pacific would be discharged, in the first instance, at a principal factory, to be founded at some point most convenient for distributing the articles among the interior posts, and for receiving the furs from those places ; and the vessels would then take in cargoes of furs, which they would transport to Canton. Vessels would also be sent, either directly from the United States, or from the principal factory on the Pacific, to the Russian American establishments, with provisions and other articles, for which furs were to be received in payment ; and from Canton these vessels would bring to Europe or America teas, silks, and other Chinese goods, procured in exchange for their furs. It is scarcely necessary to add, that all these movements were to be conducted with order and regularity, and at stated periods, so as to prevent loss of time and labor, or injury to the various articles transported.

The number of shares in the company was to be one hundred : of these half were retained by Mr. Astor, who was to advance the funds necessary for the first operations, and to manage the concerns at New York ; the remaining shares being divided among the other partners, who were to conduct the business in the western territories, on the Pacific, and at Canton. The association, if prosperous, was to continue twenty years, after which it might be prolonged ; but it might be abandoned by any of the partners, or

dissolved, within the first five years, Mr. Astor bearing all the losses incurred during that period.

This was certainly an extensive and complicated scheme; but it appeared, at the time when it was devised, to be perfectly practicable. The territories in which the new establishments were to be formed, had never been occupied: there could be no doubt that the Russians would gladly agree to the proposed arrangements for the trade with their factories; the demand for furs at Canton was regular, and sufficiently great to insure the superiority, in that market, to those who could control the supply; and the Americans would possess, in China and on the Pacific, a decided advantage over the British, whose flag was then rarely seen in the Pacific, in consequence of the monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company. Moreover, there was then no prospect of a material change in the political positions of the principal nations of the world.

The only party from which the Pacific Company could apprehend any immediate and serious difficulties, was the North-West Company of Montreal. The resources of that body were in every respect inferior to Mr. Astor's; but, in order to prevent rivalry, he communicated his intentions confidentially to its directors, and offered them an interest to the extent of one third in his enterprise: they, however, rejected his proposal, and took measures, as will be shown hereafter, to forestall him. Was Mr. Astor — a citizen of the United States — justifiable in thus offering to an association of British subjects, noted for its enmity to his adopted country, a share of the advantages to be obtained under the flag of the United States, from territories exclusively belonging to the United States, or of which the exclusive possession by the United States was evidently essential to the welfare and advancement of the republic?

Having matured his scheme, Mr. Astor engaged as partners, clerks, and *voyageurs*, a number of Scotchmen and Canadians, who had been in the service of the North-West Company, and afterwards a number rather greater, of other persons, principally natives of the United States. The partners first admitted were Alexander Mackay, who had accompanied Mackenzie in his expedition to the Pacific in 1793, Duncan Macdougall, and Donald Mackenzie, all Scotchmen, formerly belonging to the North-West Company: these persons signed the constitution or articles of agreement of the Pacific Company, with Mr. Astor, on the 23d of June, 1810; having, however, previously communicated the whole plan of the enterprise to Mr. Jackson, the minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain in the United

States, who quieted all their scruples as to engaging in it, by assuring them that, "*in case of a war between the two nations, they would be respected as British subjects and merchants.*" The partners subsequently admitted were David and Robert Stuart, and Ramsay Crooks, Scotchmen, who had also been in the service of the North-West Company, and Wilson Price Hunt, John Clarke, and Robert Maclellan, citizens of the United States. The majority of the clerks were Americans; among the others were Ross Cox, an Englishman, and Gabriel Franchère, a Canadian, each of whom has written an interesting history of the enterprise. The *voyageurs* were nearly all from Canada. Mr. Hunt, a native of New Jersey, was chosen as chief agent of the company, to superintend all its concerns on the western side of America for five years.

Thus it will be seen that, although the chief direction of the concerns of the Pacific Fur Company, in New York and on the western side of the continent, were at first intrusted to American citizens, yet the majority not only of the inferior servants, but also of the partners, were British subjects, nearly all of whom had been in the service of a rival British association.

The preparations for commencing the enterprise having been completed, four of the partners, Messrs. Mackay, Macdougall, David Stuart, and Robert Stuart, with eleven clerks, thirteen Canadian *voyageurs*, and five mechanics, all British subjects, took their departure from New York for the mouth of the Columbia River, in September, 1810, in the ship *Tonquin*, commanded by Jonathan Thorne. In January following, the second detachment, conducted by Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, and Messrs. Maclellan, Mackenzie, and Crooks, set out for the same point, by way of the Missouri River; and in October, 1811, the ship *Beaver*, under Captain Sowles, carried out from New York, to the North Pacific, Mr. Clarke, with six clerks and a number of other persons.

Mr. Astor had already, in 1809, despatched the ship *Enterprise*, under Captain Ebbets, an intelligent and experienced seaman and trader, to make observations at various places on the north-west coasts of America, and particularly at the Russian settlements, and to prepare the way for the new establishments. He, also, in 1811, sent an agent to St. Petersburg, by whose means he concluded an arrangement with the Russian American Company, to the effect that his association should have the exclusive privileges, of supplying the Russian establishments on the North Pacific with merchandise, receiving furs in payment, and of transporting to Canton such

other furs as the Russians might choose to ship for that port, on their own account, provided that the Americans should visit no other parts of the coast north of a certain latitude.

The Tonquin passed around Cape Horn, and in February, 1811, arrived at Owyhee, where Macdougall, who was to superintend the affairs of the company on the Pacific and its coasts until the arrival of Hunt, endeavored to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with King Tamahamaha: but that aged chief, whom experience had rendered distrustful, refused to bind himself by any contract with the white men; and he would only promise to furnish the vessels of the company with provisions on the same terms with other vessels — namely, on payment of the value in Spanish dollars. Having obtained the necessary supplies in this way, and taken on board a dozen of the islanders, who were permitted by their sovereign to engage in the service of the Pacific Company, Captain Thorne sailed for the mouth of the Columbia, where he effected an entrance on the 24th of March, with great danger and difficulty, after losing three of his men, who attempted to reach the shore in a boat.

The passengers immediately disembarked on the shore of Baker's Bay, on the north side of the Columbia, just within Cape Disappointment, where sheds were built for their temporary accommodation. A few days afterwards, the partners set off in search of a place proper for the establishment of a factory; and they soon selected for that object a spot on the south bank of the river, distant about ten miles from the ocean, which had received from Broughton, in 1792, the name of *Point George*. To this place the Tonquin was removed; and, her goods and materials being landed, preparations were commenced for the erection of a fort and other houses, and for building a small vessel, of which the frame had been brought out from New York. In the course of two months, these works were so far advanced, that the assistance of the ship's crew was no longer needed; and Captain Thorne accordingly sailed on the 5th of June for the northern coasts, carrying with him Mr. Mackay who was to conduct the trade, and to make arrangements with the Russians, Mr. Lewis one of the clerks, and an Indian who spoke English, to serve as interpreter.

During the ensuing summer, much progress was made in the buildings for the factory, which, in honor of the head of the company, was named *ASTORIA*. A large piece of ground was cleared and laid out as a garden, in which various vegetables were planted; the small vessel was finished and launched; trade was carried on with the neighboring Indians, and also with others from the higher

parts of the river, who gave skins, fish, and game, in exchange for manufactured articles; and every thing, in fine, seemed to promise success to the enterprise.

While the Astorians were thus engaged, they were unexpectedly visited, on the 15th of July, by a party of the North-West Company's men, under the direction of Mr. David Thompson, the surveyor or astronomer of that body. These men had been despatched from Canada in the preceding year, with the object of forestalling the Americans in the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia, which they hoped to effect before the end of that season: but they were so long delayed in seeking a passage through the Rocky Mountains, that they were obliged to winter in that ridge, near the northernmost sources of the Columbia, under the 52d parallel of latitude; whence they hastened down the river in the spring of 1811, building huts, and erecting flags at various places, by way of *taking possession* of the country. They were received at the fort not as rivals, but as friends; and were treated with the utmost respect and hospitality, during their stay, by their old companion, the superintendent, Macdougall, who, moreover, furnished them with provisions, and even with goods, for trading on their departure up the river.

Mr. Thompson and his followers in this expedition were, from all the accounts as yet made public, the first white persons who navigated the northern branch of the Columbia, or traversed any part of the country drained by it. The British commissioners, in the negotiation with the American plenipotentiary at London, in 1826, nevertheless, attempted to place Mr. Thompson's expedition on an equality, not only as to extent of discovery, but also as to date, with that of Lewis and Clarke; and to represent the establishments which he is said to have founded on his way down the Columbia as prior to those formed by the Pacific Company. In their statement of the claims of Great Britain to territories west of the Rocky Mountains, they say*—“The United States further pretend that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of its course to the sea by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805–6. In reply to this allegation, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, *if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years*, her North-West Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thompson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and

* See the British statement, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter H.

Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain in this particular, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, a title of parity at least, if not of priority of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from these posts that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811 at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thompson hastened thither, descending the river to ascertain the nature of that establishment." The expression "*if not before, at least in the same and following years,*" used here, is rather indefinite. In order to show how it should be understood conformably with truth, it will be proper to repeat—that Lewis and Clarke descended the Columbia and reached its mouth before the middle of November, 1805—that the North-West Company made their first establishment beyond the Rocky Mountains, at some distance north of any part of the Columbia, in 1806—that American establishments were formed on the Columbia in 1809, 1810, and 1811—and, finally, that Thompson did not arrive among the Kootanie and Flat-head tribes until the spring of 1811, after the foundation of Astoria.

Mr. Thompson and his people were accompanied, on their return, by a party from the factory, under Mr. David Stuart, who established a post at the confluence of a stream, called the *Okinagan*, with the north branch of the Columbia, about six hundred miles above the mouth of the latter river, and remained there during the winter. The situation of those left at Astoria was, in the mean time, very unpleasant, and their spirits were depressed by various circumstances. Their supplies of provisions were scanty and uncertain, and nothing was heard, for some months, of the party who were to come over land from the United States; the Tonquin, which was expected to return to the river in September, did not appear, and rumors were brought by the Indians of the destruction of a ship, and the massacre of her crew, by the natives near the Strait of Fuca. Nothing, however, occurred at the factory, worthy of note, until the 18th of January, 1812, when a portion of the detachment sent across the continent arrived there in the most wretched condition.

This detachment, consisting of about sixty men, under the chief agent, Hunt, and the partners, Crooks, Mackenzie, and Maclellan, ascended the Missouri River in boats, from its mouth to the country of the Arickara Indians, distant about fourteen hundred miles higher; during which voyage they were constantly annoyed by their rivals of the Missouri Company; and, there quitting the river, they took a

westward course to the Rocky Mountains, which they crossed in September, 1811, near the head of the Yellowstone River. On the western side of the ridge, they found a large stream, probably the main branch of the Lewis, on which they embarked in canoes, with the expectation of thus floating down to the Falls of the Columbia; but ere they had proceeded far in this way, they encountered so many dangers and obstructions, from falls and rapids, that they were forced to abandon the stream and resume their march. It would be needless here to attempt to describe the many evils from hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue, which these men underwent during their wanderings through that dreary wilderness of snow-clad mountains, in the winter of 1811-12: suffice it to say, that, after several of their number had perished from one or more of these causes, the others reached Astoria in separate parties, in the first months of 1812, having spent more than a year in coming from St. Louis. At the factory they found shelter, warmth, and rest; but they had little food, until the fish began to enter the river, when they obtained abundant supplies of pilchards, of the most delicious flavor.

On the 5th of May, 1812, the ship *Beaver*,* commanded by Captain Sowles, arrived in the Columbia, from New York, bringing the third detachment of persons in the service of the Pacific Company, under the direction of Mr. Clarke, and twenty-six natives of

* Ross Cox, who arrived at Astoria in the *Beaver*, in May, 1812, gives the following account of the establishment as it then appeared:—

"The spot selected for the fort [Astoria] was a handsome eminence, called *Point George*, which commanded an extensive view of the majestic Columbia in front, bounded by the bold and thickly-wooded northern shore. On the right, about three miles distant, a long, high, and rocky peninsula, covered with timber, called *Tongue Point*, extended a considerable distance into the river from the southern side, with which it was connected by a narrow neck of land; while, on the extreme left, *Cape Disappointment*, with the bar and its terrific chain of breakers, were distinctly visible. The buildings consisted of apartments for the proprietors and clerks, with a capacious dining-hall for both; extensive warehouses for the trading goods and furs, a provision store, a trading shop, smith's forge, carpenter's shop, &c.; the whole surrounded by stockades, forming a square, and reaching about fifteen feet above the ground. A gallery ran around the stockades, in which loopholes were pierced, sufficiently large for musketry; two strong bastions, built of logs, commanded the four sides of the square; each bastion had two stories, in which a number of chosen men slept every night; a six pounder was placed in the lower story of each, and they were both well provided with small arms. Immediately in front of the fort was a gentle declivity, sloping down to the river's side, which had been turned into an excellent kitchen garden; and, a few hundred rods to the left, a tolerable wharf had been run out, by which bateaux and boats were enabled, at low water, to land their cargoes without sustaining any damage. An impenetrable forest of gigantic pines rose in the rear, and the ground was covered with a thick underwood of brier and whortleberry, intermingled with fern and honeysuckle."

the Sandwich Islands, who were engaged as seamen or laborers. The Beaver, moreover, brought from Owyhee a letter which had been left there by Captain Ebbets, of the ship Enterprise, containing positive information of the destruction of the Tonquin and her crew by the savages on the coast near the Strait of Fuca; the particulars of this melancholy affair were not, however, learned until August of the following year, when they were communicated at Astoria by the Indian who had gone in the Tonquin as interpreter, and was the only survivor of those on board the ill-fated ship.

According to this interpreter's account, the Tonquin, after quitting the river, sailed northward along the coast of the continent, and anchored, in the middle of June, 1811, opposite a village on the Bay of Clioquot, near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. She was there immediately surrounded by crowds of Indians in canoes, who continued for some days to trade in the most peaceable manner, so as, to disarm Captain Thorne and Mr. McKay of all suspicions. At length, either in consequence of an affront given to a chief by the captain, or with the view of plundering the vessel, the natives embraced an opportunity when the men were dispersed on or below the decks, in the performance of their duties, and in a moment put to death every one of the crew and passengers, except the interpreter, who leaped into a canoe, and was saved by some women, and the clerk, Mr. Lewis, who retreated, with a few sailors, to the cabin. The survivors of the crew, by the employment of their fire-arms, succeeded in driving the savages from the ship; and, in the night, four of them quitted her in a boat, leaving on board Mr. Lewis and some others, who were severely wounded. On the following day, the natives again crowded around and on board the Tonquin; and while they were engaged in rifling her, she was blown up, most probably by the wounded men left below deck. The seamen who had endeavored to escape in the boat were soon retaken, and put to death in the most cruel manner, by the Indians; the interpreter was preserved, and remained in slavery two years, at the end of which time he was suffered to depart.

The loss of this ship was a severe blow to the Pacific Company; but the partners at Astoria were consoled by the reflections, that their chief could bear pecuniary damages to a far greater extent without injury to his credit, and that, if their enterprise should prove successful, ample indemnification would soon be obtained. It was therefore determined that Mr. Hunt should embark in the Beaver, to superintend the trade along the northern coasts, and visit the

Russian establishments, as Mr. Mackay would have done, but for the destruction of the *Tonquin*; and he accordingly took his departure in that ship in August, 1812, leaving the superintendence of the affairs at the factory, as before, in the hands of Mr. Macdougall. A party was at the same time despatched to the upper country, by which another trading post was established on the *Spokan*, a stream joining the northern branch of the Columbia, about six hundred and fifty miles from the ocean; and accounts of all the transactions, to that period, were transmitted to the United States, under the care of Messrs. Crooks, Maclellan, and Robert Stuart, who recrossed the continent, and reached New York in the spring of 1813, after encountering difficulties and dangers greater, in many respects, than those undergone in their journey to the Pacific.

The trade with the Indians of the Lower Missouri was, in the mean time, going on prosperously; provisions were abundant at Astoria, and a large quantity of furs was collected there, in expectation of the arrival of the Beaver, which was to take them to Canton in the ensuing spring. The hopes of the partners were thus revived, and they had daily additional grounds for anticipating success in their undertaking, when, in January, 1813, they learned that the United States had declared war against Great Britain in June previous. This news spread an instantaneous gloom over the minds of all, which was increased by information received from a trading vessel, that the Beaver was lying at Canton, blockaded by a British ship of war: and soon afterwards, Messrs. Mactavish and Laroque, partners in the North-West Company, arrived near Astoria, with sixteen men, bringing accounts of the success of the British arms on the northern frontiers of the United States, and of the blockade of all the Atlantic coasts of the latter country by British squadrons.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Laroque and Mactavish were received and treated by Macdougall and Mackenzie, the only partners of the Pacific Company then at Astoria, with the same attention and hospitality which had been shown to Thompson in the preceding year; and were supplied with provisions and goods for trading, as if they had been friends and allies, instead of commercial rivals and political enemies. A series of private conferences were then held between the chief persons of the two parties, at the conclusion of which, Macdougall and Mackenzie announced their determination that the company should be dissolved on the 1st of July, and sent messengers to communicate the fact to the other

partners, Stuart and Clarke, at the Okinagan and Spokan posts. The latter gentleman, on receiving this news, hastened to the factory, and there strongly opposed the determination to abandon the enterprise; and it was at length agreed among them, that the establishments should be maintained a few months longer, at the end of which time, the company should be dissolved, unless assistance were received from the United States. Three of the clerks, including Ross Cox, however, immediately quitted the concern, and, entering the service of the North-West Company, took their departure for the upper country with Laroque and Mactavish, in July.

From the United States no assistance came. The ship *Lark* was despatched from New York, in March, 1813, with men and goods for the Columbia; but she was wrecked in October following, near one of the Sandwich Islands, on which the captain, Northrup, and crew succeeded in effecting a landing. The American government also determined, in consequence of the representations of Mr. Astor, to send the frigate *Adams* to the North Pacific, for the protection of the infant establishment; but, just as that ship was about to sail from New York, it became necessary to transfer her crew to Lake Ontario, and the blockade of the coasts of the United States by the British rendered all further efforts to convey succors to Astoria unavailing.

In the mean time, Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, who had sailed from the Columbia in the *Beaver*, in August, 1812, as already mentioned, visited the principal Russian establishments on the north-west coasts of America, and the adjacent islands, and collected a large quantity of furs, besides concluding arrangements highly advantageous to the Pacific Company, with Governor Baranof,* at Sitka. It was then agreed between Mr. Hunt and Captain Sowles, that the *Beaver* should proceed, by way of the Sandwich Islands, to Canton, instead of returning to the Columbia, as had been previously determined; and this was done, though Hunt went no farther in her than to Woahoo, one of the Sandwich group, where he remained several months, waiting for some vessel to carry him to Astoria. At length, in June, 1813, the ship *Albatross*, of Boston, arrived at

* An amusing account of the negotiations between Hunt and Baranof is given in Mr. Irving's *Astoria*. The chief agent of the Pacific Company appears to have been in as much danger from the "potations pottle deep" of raw rum and burning punch, which accompanied each of his interviews with the governor of Russian America, as from hunger, thirst, savages, or storms, during his whole expedition.

Woahoo, from China, bringing information of the war between the United States and Great Britain, and also that the Beaver was blockaded by a British ship at Canton; on learning which, Mr. Hunt chartered the Albatross, and proceeded in her to the Columbia, where he arrived on the 4th of August.

Mr. Hunt was astounded on learning the resolution adopted by the other partners at Astoria during his absence, which he endeavored to induce them to change; but, finding them determined, he reluctantly acceded to it himself, and, after a few days, he re-embarked in the Albatross, for the Sandwich Islands, in search of some vessel to convey the property of the Pacific Company to a place of safety. At the Sandwich Islands no vessel could be found; and Hunt accordingly continued in the Albatross until she arrived at Nooahevah, (one of the Washington Islands, discovered by Ingraham, in 1791,) where he learned from Commodore David Porter, who was lying there in the American frigate Essex, that a large British squadron, under Commodore Hillyar, was on its way to the Columbia. This news caused Hunt to hasten back to the Sandwich Islands, which he reached in December, soon after the wreck of the Lark; and, having there chartered a small brig, called the Pedler, he sailed in her to Astoria, where he arrived in February, 1814.

The fate of the Pacific Company, and its establishments in North-West America, had, however, been decided some time before the Pedler reached Astoria.

Soon after the departure of Hunt, Mr. Mactavish and his followers of the North-West Company again appeared at Astoria, where they expected to meet a ship called the Isaac Todd, which had sailed from London in March, laden with goods, and under convoy of a British squadron, charged "*to take and destroy every thing American on the north-west coast.*" They were received as before, and allowed to pitch their camp unmolested near the factory; and private conferences were held between Mactavish and Macdougall, the results of which were, after some days, communicated to the other partners, and then to the clerks of the Pacific Company. These results were set forth in an agreement, signed on the 16th of October, 1813, between Messrs. Mactavish and Alexander Stuart, on the one part, and Messrs. Macdougall, Mackenzie, and Clarke, on the other; by which all the "*establishments, furs, and stock in hand,*" of the Pacific Company, in the country of the

Columbia, were sold to the North-West Company, for about fifty-eight thousand dollars.

Whilst the business of valuing the furs and goods at Astoria, and of transferring them to their new owners, was in progress, the British sloop of war *Raccoon* appeared at the mouth of the river, under the command of Captain Black, who had been despatched from the South Pacific, by Commodore Hillyar, for the purpose of taking the American forts and establishments on the Columbia, and had hastened thither in expectation of securing some glory, and a rich share of prize-money, by the conquest. On approaching the factory, however, the captain soon saw that he should gain no laurels; and, after it had been formally surrendered to him by Mr. Macdougall, he learnt, to his infinite dissatisfaction, that its contents had become the property of British subjects. He could, therefore, only haul down the flag of the United States, and hoist that of Great Britain in its stead, over the establishment,* the name of which was, with due solemnity, changed to *Fort George*; and, having given vent to his indignation against the partners of both companies, whom he loudly accused of collusion to defraud himself and his officers and crew of the reward due for their exertions, he sailed back to the South Pacific.

The brig *Pedler* arrived in the Columbia, as before said, on the 28th of February, 1814, and Mr. Hunt found Macdougall superintending the factory, not, however, as chief agent of the Pacific Company, but as a partner of the North-West Company, into which he had been admitted. Hunt had, therefore, merely to close the concerns of the American association in that quarter, and to receive the bills on Montreal, given in payment for its effects; after which he reëmbarked in the *Pedler*, with two of the clerks, and proceeded, by way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope, to New York. Of the other persons who had been attached to the Pacific Fur Company's establishments, some were murdered by the Indians on Lewis River, in the summer of 1813; some, including Mr. Franchère, the author of the narrative of the expeditions, returned over land to the United States, or to Canada; and some remained on the Columbia, in the service of the North-West Company. The long-expected ship *Isaac Todd* reached *Fort George* on the 17th of April, thirteen months after her departure from Eng-

* See the account of the capture of Astoria, extracted from Cox, in the *Proofs and Illustrations*, under the letter G, No. 3.

land, bringing a large stock of supplies ; by the aid of which the partners of the North-West Company were enabled to extend their operations, and to establish themselves more firmly in the country.

Such was the termination of the Astoria enterprise ; for no attempt has been since made by any of the persons who were engaged in it to form establishments on the western side of America. It was wisely planned : the resources for conducting it were ample ; and its failure was occasioned by circumstances, the principal of which could not have been reasonably anticipated at the time of its commencement. That ships might be lost at sea, or that parties might be destroyed by savages, or perish from cold or hunger,—casualties such as these were expected, and provisions were made for the contingencies. But, in 1810, when the Beaver sailed from New York, no one believed that, before the end of two years, the United States would be at war with the greatest maritime power in the world. By that war the whole plan was traversed. Communications by sea between the United States and the Pacific coasts became difficult and uncertain, whilst those by land were of little advantage, and were always liable to interruption by the enemy ; and there was, in fact, no object in collecting furs on the Columbia, when those articles could not be transported to China.

The Pacific Company, nevertheless, might, and probably would, have withstood all these difficulties, *if the directing partners on the Columbia had been Americans, instead of being, as the greater part of them were, men unconnected with the United States by birth, or citizenship, or previous residence, or family ties.* Mr. Astor declares that he would have preferred the loss of the establishments and property by a fair capture, to the sale of them in a manner which he considered disgraceful ; yet, although the conduct of Macdougall and Mackenzie, in that sale, and subsequently, was such as to authorize suspicions with regard to their motives, they could not have been expected to engage in hostilities against their compatriots and former friends. Being thus restrained from defending the *honor* of the Pacific Company by force, they may have considered themselves bound to take care of its *interests*, by the only means in their power, as they did in the sale. American citizens would have resisted the North-West Company, and would doubtless have maintained their supremacy, in the country of the Columbia, for some time, possibly until peace had been made between Great Britain and the United States.

CHAPTER XV.

1814 to 1820.

Restitution of Astoria to the United States by Great Britain, agreeably to the Treaty of Ghent — Alleged Reservation of Rights on the Part of Great Britain — First Negotiation between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, respecting the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and Convention for the joint Occupancy of those Territories — Florida Treaty between Spain and the United States, by which the Latter acquires the Title of Spain to the North-West Coasts — Colonel Long's exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains — Disputes between the British North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies — Union of those Bodies — Act of Parliament extending the Jurisdiction of the Canada Courts to the Pacific Countries — Russian Establishments on the North Pacific — Expeditions in Search of Northern Passages between the Atlantic and the Pacific — Death of Tamahamaha, and Introduction of Christianity into the Sandwich Islands.

THE capture of Astoria by the British, and the transfer of the Pacific Company's establishments on the Columbia to the North-West Company, were not known to the plenipotentiaries of the United States at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, when they signed the treaty of peace between their country and Great Britain. That treaty contains no allusion whatsoever to the north-west coasts of America, or to any portion of the continent west of the Lake of the Woods. The plenipotentiaries of the United States had been instructed by their government *to consent to no claim on the part of Great Britain to territory in that quarter south of the 49th parallel of latitude*, for reasons which have been already stated; and, after some discussion, they proposed to the British an article similar in effect to the fifth article of the convention signed, but not definitively concluded, in 1807, according to which,* a line drawn along that parallel should separate the territories of the powers so far as they extended west of the Lake of the Woods, provided, however, that nothing in the article should be construed as applying to any country west of the Rocky Mountains. The British plenipotentiaries were willing to accept this article, if it were also accompanied by a provision that their subjects should have access to the Mississippi River, through the territories of the United

* For the reasons and the convention here mentioned, see chap. xiii.

States, and the right of navigating it to the sea ; but the Americans refused positively to agree to such a stipulation, and the question of boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods was left unsettled by the treaty.

It was nevertheless agreed, in the first article of the treaty of Ghent, that "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, [in the Bay of Fundy,] shall be restored without delay ;*" and, in virtue of this article, Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state of the United States, on the 18th of July, 1815, announced to Mr. Baker, the *chargé d'affaires* of Great Britain at Washington, that the president intended immediately to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. This determination seems to have been taken partly at the instance of Mr. Astor, who was anxious, if possible, to recommence operations on his former plan in North-West America ; but no measures were adopted for the purpose until September, 1817, when Captain J. Biddle, commanding the sloop of war Ontario, and Mr. J. B. Prevost, were jointly commissioned to proceed in that ship to the mouth of the Columbia, and there "to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force." *

A few days after the departure of Messrs. Biddle and Prevost for the Pacific, on this mission, Mr. Bagot, the British plenipotentiary at Washington, addressed to Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American secretary of state, some inquiries respecting the destination of the Ontario, and the objects of her voyage ; and, having been informed on those points, he remonstrated against the intended occupation of the post at the mouth of the Columbia, on the grounds "that the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the Americans had retired from it, under an agreement with the North-West Company, which had purchased their effects, and had ever since retained peaceable possession of the coast ;" and that "*the territory itself was early taken possession of in his majesty's name, and had been since considered as forming part of his majesty's dominions ;*" under which circumstances, no claim for the restitution of the post could be founded on the first article of the treaty of Ghent. At what precise time this possession was taken, or on

* See President Monroe's message to Congress of April 15th, 1822, and the accompanying documents.

what grounds the territory was considered as part of the British dominions, the minister did not attempt to show.

Mr. Bagot at the same time communicated the circumstances to his government, and they became the subjects of discussion between Lord Castlereagh, the British secretary for foreign affairs, and Mr. Rush, the American plenipotentiary at London. Lord Castlereagh proposed that the question respecting the claim to the post on the Columbia should be referred to commissioners, as many other disputed points had been, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent; to which Mr. Rush objected, for the simple reasons — that the spot was in the possession of the Americans before the war; that it fell, by belligerent capture, into the hands of the British during the war; and that, “under a treaty which stipulated the mutual restitution of all places reduced by the arms of either party, the right of the United States to immediate and full repossession could not be impugned.” The British secretary, upon this, admitted the right of the Americans to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession, while treating on the title; though he regretted that the government of the United States should have employed means to obtain restitution which might lead to difficulties. Mr. Rush had no apprehensions of that kind; and it was finally agreed that the post should be restored to the Americans, and that the question of the title to the territory should be discussed in the negotiation as to limits and other matters, which was soon to be commenced. Lord Bathurst, the British secretary for the colonies, accordingly sent to the agents of the North-West Company at the mouth of the Columbia a despatch, directing them to afford due facilities for the reoccupation of the post at that point by the Americans; and an order to the same effect was also sent from the Admiralty to the commander of the British naval forces in the Pacific.

The *Ontario* passed around Cape Horn into the Pacific, and arrived, in February, 1818, at Valparaiso, where it was agreed between the commissioners that Captain Biddle should proceed to the Columbia, and receive possession of Astoria for the United States, Mr. Prevost remaining in Chili for the purpose of transacting some business with the government of that country, which had also been intrusted to him. Captain Biddle accordingly sailed to the Columbia, and, on the 9th of August, he took temporary possession of the country on that river, in the name of the United States, after which he returned to the South Pacific.

In the mean time, Commodore Bowles, the commander of the

British naval forces in the South Sea, received at Rio de Janeiro the order from the Admiralty for the surrender of the post on the Columbia to the Americans. This order he transmitted to Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the ships in the Pacific, who, meeting Mr. Prevost at Valparaiso, informed him of the contents of the order, and offered him a passage to the Columbia, for the purpose of completing the business, as it certainly could not have been done by Captain Biddle. This offer was accepted by the American commissioner, who proceeded, in the British frigate Blossom, to the Columbia, and entered that river in the beginning of October; and Mr. Keith, the superintending partner of the North-West Company at Fort George, or Astoria, having also received the order, from the colonial department at London, for the surrender of the place, the affair was soon despatched.* On the 6th of the month, Captain Hickey and Mr. Keith, as joint commissioners on the part of Great Britain, presented to Mr. Prevost a paper declaring that, in obedience to the commands of the prince regent, as signified in Lord Bathurst's despatch of the 27th of January previous, and in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, they restored to the government of the United States, through its agent, Mr. Prevost, the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River; and Mr. Prevost, in return, gave another paper, setting forth the fact of his acceptance of the settlement for his government, agreeably to the

* President Monroe's message to Congress of April 17th, 1822, accompanied by Mr. Prevost's letter, dated Monterey, November 11th, 1818. The two papers above mentioned are of so much importance, that they are here given at length.

The *act of delivery* presented by the British commissioners is as follows:—

"In obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th of July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of his Majesty's ship *Andromache*, we, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River. Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. HICKEY, *Captain of his Majesty's ship Blossom.*

"J. KEITH, *of the North-West Company.*"

The *act of acceptance*, on the part of the American commissioner, is in these words:—

"I do hereby acknowledge to have this day received, in behalf of the Government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Given under my hand, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th of October, 1818.

"J. B. PREVOST, *Agent for the United States.*"

above-mentioned treaty. The British flag was then formally lowered, and that of the United States, having been hoisted in its stead over the fort, was saluted by the Blossom.

The documents above cited—the only ones which passed between the commissioners on this occasion—are sufficient to show that *no reservation or exception was made on the part of Great Britain*, and that the restoration of Astoria to the United States was complete and unconditional. Nevertheless, in a negotiation between the governments of those nations, in 1826, relative to the territories of the Columbia, it was maintained by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain,* that the restoration of Astoria could not have been legally required by the United States, in virtue of the treaty of Ghent, because the place was not a national possession, nor a military post, and was not taken during war; but “in order that not even the shadow of a reflection might be cast upon the good faith of the British government, the latter determined to give the most liberal extension to the terms of the treaty of Ghent; and in 1818, the purchase which the British Company had made in 1813 was restored to the United States; particular care being, however, taken, on this occasion, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.” In support of this last assertion, two documents are produced, as having been addressed, in 1818, *by the British ministers to their own agents*, and which, *though never before published, or communicated in any way to the United States*, were considered by the plenipotentiaries, in 1826, as putting the “case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation.” One of these documents is presented as an extract from Lord Castlereagh’s despatch to Mr. Bagot, dated February 4th, 1818, in which his lordship says, “You will observe, that whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession, as it stood in the Columbia River, at the moment of the rupture, *they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement*. In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation of the *limited position* which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, *you will, at the same time, assert, in suitable terms, the claim of Great Britain to that territory*, upon which the American settlement must be considered an encroach-

* Statement presented by the British plenipotentiaries to Mr. Gallatin, among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, letter H. See hereafter, chap. xvi.

ment:" the plenipotentiaries add that "this instruction was executed *verbally* by the person to whom it was addressed." The other document purports to be a copy of the despatch from Lord Bathurst to the partners of the North-West Company, mentioned in the Act of Delivery, presented by Messrs. Keith and Hickey, directing them to restore the post on the Columbia, "in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent," in which the words "*without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question*" appear in a parenthesis.*

Without inquiring, at present, whether or not Astoria was a national possession of the United States, agreeably to the rules and definitions laid down by writers on national law, there can be no difficulty in showing that it was such according to the principles and practice of Great Britain; and for that purpose, it is necessary merely to refer to the circumstances attending the dispute between that power and Spain, in 1790, when the British government required from Spain the surrender of a territory discovered by her navigators, and occupied by her forces, on the ground that it had, previous to such occupation, become the property of British subjects. Whether Astoria was a military post or not, could be of no consequence, as the treaty of Ghent provides for the restoration of "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war,*" except those on the Atlantic side of America specially named; and that the establishments on the Columbia were so taken by the British during war, has been sufficiently proved. The right of the United States to make settlements on the Columbia, existed previous to the foundation of Astoria, in virtue of the discoveries and explorations of their private citizens and public officers; and that right could not be lessened, by any subsequent acts of their citizens, without the consent of their government. The agents of the Pacific Company, in expect-

* The following is a copy of this despatch, as given in the British statement, which will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter H:—

"DOWNING STREET, January 27th, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received, that the United States sloop of war Ontario has been sent by the American government to establish a settlement on the Columbia River, which was held by that State on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you that it is the Prince Regent's pleasure, (without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question,) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the reoccupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute, as much as lies in your power, to the execution of his Royal Highness's commands. I have, &c. &c.,

"BATHURST."

tation of the arrival of an overpowering British force, sold their "*establishments, furs, and stock in hand*," to the North-West Company; but they did not, nor could they, alienate *the right of domain* of the United States, which continued as before that transaction until the British forces arrived, and took possession of the country by right of conquest. The same circumstances might have occurred with regard to places near the head of the Mississippi, or in Maine; and Great Britain would not have been bound more strongly by the treaty of Ghent to restore places so situated than to restore the establishments on the Columbia.

The two documents, which the British plenipotentiaries consider as putting "the case of the restoration of Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation," are wholly inadmissible as evidence in "the case," being simply despatches from British ministers to their own agents, intended exclusively for the instruction of the latter, and with which the United States have no more concern than with the private opinions of those ministers. The attempt to represent such communications as reservations of right on the part of Great Britain to the very territory which she was then in the act of restoring to the United States, expressly in pursuance of a treaty, is alike at variance with the common sense and the common morals of the day; and no arguments are required to show that, if such reservations were allowable, all engagements between nations would be nugatory, and all faith at an end. The statement respecting the assertion of the British claim to Astoria, *verbally* made by Mr. Bagot to Mr. Adams, is incomplete; for, as Mr. Gallatin justly observed in answer, "it is not stated how the communication was received, nor whether the American government consented to accept the restitution with the reservation, as expressed in the despatch to the envoy;"* and it is, moreover, by no means consonant with the usages of diplomatic intercourse at the present day, to treat *verbally* on questions so important as those of territorial sovereignty, or to

* Mr. Gallatin's *Counter-Statement*, accompanying the president's message to Congress of December 12th, 1827. Upon the subject of this *verbal* communication, the following may be found in Mr. Adams's despatch to Mr. Rush, of July 22d, 1823, accompanying the same message:—

"Previous to the restoration of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River, in 1818, and again, upon the first introduction in Congress of the plan for constituting a territorial government there, some disposition was manifested, by Sir Charles Bagot and Mr. [Stratford] Canning, to dispute the *right* of the United States to that establishment, and some vague intimation was given of the British claims on the north-west coast. The restoration of the place, and the convention of 1818, were considered as a final disposal of Mr. Bagot's objections, and Mr. Canning declined committing to paper those which he had intimated in conversation."

consider as sufficient, protests and exceptions made in that manner, and brought forward long after, without acknowledgment of any kind on the part of those to whom they are said to have been addressed. The only communication received by the American government, on the occasion of the restitution of Astoria, is explicit: "*We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River;*" and this direct and unqualified recognition of the right of the United States cannot be affected by subsequent communications to or from any persons.

It may also be remarked, that although the British government, in 1826, pronounced as sufficient a reservation contained in a secret despatch from one of its own ministers to one of its own agents, and withheld from the other party interested in the matter, yet, in 1834, the same government pronounced the reservation contained in the Declaration publicly presented by the Spanish ambassador at London, in 1771, on the conclusion of the dispute respecting the Falkland Islands, "*not to possess any substantial weight,*"* inasmuch as it had not been noticed in the Acceptance presented by the British government in return. The circumstances connected with the last-mentioned transaction have been already so fully exposed, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Immediately after the conclusion of the surrender of Astoria, Mr. Keith presented to Mr. Prevost a note containing inquiries—whether or not the government of the United States would insist upon the abandonment of the post by the North-West Company,† before the final decision of the question as to the right of sovereignty over the country; and whether, in the event of such a

* Letter from Viscount Palmerston to Señor Moreno, envoy of Buenos Ayres at London, dated January 8th, 1834. See the note in p. 111, containing a sketch of the circumstances of the dispute respecting the Falkland Islands.

† The buildings, and, indeed, the whole establishment at Astoria, had been considerably increased, since it came into the hands of the North-West Company. According to the plan and description of the place sent by Mr. Prevost to Washington, the factory consisted, in 1818, of a stockade made of pine logs, twelve feet in length above the ground, enclosing a parallelogram of one hundred and fifty by two hundred and fifty feet, extending in its greatest length from north-west to south-east, and defended by bastions or towers at two opposite angles. Within this enclosure were all the buildings of the establishment, such as dwelling-houses, magazines, store-houses, mechanics' shops, &c. The artillery were two heavy eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, four four-pound carronades, two six-pound cohorns, and seven swivels, all mounted. The number of persons attached to the place, besides a few women and children, was sixty-five, of whom twenty-three were whites, twenty-six Sandwich Islanders, (or *Kanakis*, as they are generally called in the Pacific,) and the remainder persons of mixed blood, from Canada.

decision being in favor of the United States, their government would be disposed to indemnify the North-West Company for any improvements which they might, in the mean time, have made there. On these points, Mr. Prevost, having no instructions, could only reply, as he did, to the effect — that his government would, doubtless, if it should determine to keep up the settlement, satisfy any claims of the North-West Company which might be conformable with justice and the usages of civilized nations. After a few days more spent on the Columbia, the Blossom quitted the river with Mr. Prevost, whom she carried to Peru, the post remaining in the hands of the British traders, who have ever since continued to occupy it.

Whilst these measures for the restitution of Astoria were in progress, a negotiation was carried on, at London, between the plenipotentiaries of the American and British governments, for the definitive arrangement of many questions which were left unsettled by the treaty of Ghent, including those relating to the boundaries of the territories of the two nations west of the Lake of the Woods.* Messrs. Rush and Gallatin, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, proposed — that the dividing line between those territories should be drawn from the north-western extremity of that lake, north or south, as the case might require, to the 49th parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel west to the Pacific Ocean. The British commissioners, Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, after a discussion in which they endeavored to secure to British subjects the right of access to the Mississippi, and of navigating that river, agreed to admit the line proposed as far west as the Rocky Mountains; and an article to that effect was accordingly inserted in the *projet* of a convention.

The claims of the respective nations to territories west of the Rocky Mountains were then considered. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin “did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain;” and they cited, in support of that claim, the facts of the discovery of the Columbia River, of the first exploration from its sources to its mouth, and of the formation of the first establishments in the country through which it flows, by American citizens. Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, on the other hand, affirmed “that former voyages, and principally that of Captain Cook, gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery; and they alluded to

* President Monroe's message to Congress, with the accompanying documents, sent December 29th, 1818.

purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American revolution. They did not make any formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States."

It is needless here to repeat the proofs that Cook saw no part of the west coast of America south of Mount San Jacinto, near the 57th degree of latitude, which had not been already explored by the Spaniards; with regard to the purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, alleged to have been made by British subjects prior to the revolution, history is entirely silent. The determination expressed on the part of the British government not to assent to any arrangement which did not give to Great Britain the mouth of the Columbia, was at least unequivocal, and was sufficient to show that all arguments on the American side would be unavailing. It was, accordingly, at length agreed that all territories and their waters, claimed by either power, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of both for the space of ten years; provided, however, that no claim of either, or of any other nation, to any part of those territories, should be prejudiced by the arrangement.

This convention having been completed, it was signed by the plenipotentiaries on the 20th of October, 1818, and was soon after ratified by the governments of both nations.* The compromise contained in its third article, with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, was, perhaps, the most wise, as well as the most equitable, measure which could have been adopted at that time; considering that neither party pretended to possess a perfect title to the sovereignty of any of those territories, and that there was no prospect of the speedy conclusion of any arrangement with regard to them, between either party and the other claimants, Spain and Russia. The agreement could not certainly, at the time, have been considered unfavorable to the United States; for, although the North-West Company held the whole trade of the Columbia country, yet the important post at the mouth of that river was restored to the Americans without reservation, and there was every reason for supposing that it would be immediately re-

* See the third article of the convention of October, 1818, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this History, under the letter K, No. 2.

occupied by its founders: and it seemed, moreover, evident that the citizens of the United States would enjoy many and great advantages over all other people in the country in question, in consequence of their superior facilities of access to it, especially since the introduction of steam vessels on the Mississippi and its branches.

In the same year, a negotiation was carried on at Washington, between the governments of the United States and Spain, in which the question of boundaries on the north-west side of America was likewise discussed. The Spanish minister, Don Luis de Onís, began by declaring that "the right and dominion of the crown of Spain to the north-west coast of America as high as the Californias, is certain and indisputable; the Spaniards having explored it as far as the 47th degree, in the expedition under Juan de Fuca, in 1592, and in that under Admiral Fonté, to the 55th degree, in 1640. The dominion of Spain in these vast regions being thus established, and her rights of discovery, conquest, and possession, being never disputed, she could scarcely possess a property founded on more respectable principles, whether of the law of nations, of public law, or of any others which serve as a basis to such acquisitions as compose all the independent kingdoms and states of the earth." Upon these positive assertions, the American plenipotentiary, Mr. J. Q. Adams, secretary of state, did not consider himself required to offer any comment; and the origin, extent, and value, of the claims of Spain to the north-western portion of America remained unquestioned during the discussion. The negotiation was broken off in the early part of the year, soon after its commencement; it was, however, renewed, and was terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, by a treaty commonly called the *Florida treaty*, in which the southern boundaries of the United States were definitively fixed. Spain ceded Florida to the American republic, which relinquished all claims to territories west of the River Sabine, and south of the upper parts of the Red and the Arkansas Rivers; and it was agreed that a line drawn on the meridian from the source of the Arkansas northward to the 42d parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel westward to the Pacific, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and the southern boundary of those of the United States, in that quarter,— "His Catholic majesty ceding to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories north of the said line."

The provisions of this treaty, particularly those relating to limits, appear to have been as nearly just as any which could have been

framed under existing circumstances; and as an almost necessary consequence, they were not received with general satisfaction by either nation. The Americans insisted that the Rio del Norte should have been made the boundary of their republic in the south-west, so as to secure to it the possession of the vast and fertile region of Texas, which they claimed as originally forming part of Louisiana; whilst the Spaniards protested that their interests in the new world had been sacrificed by the surrender of Florida to the power most dangerous to them in that quarter. The Spanish government, which was then in the hands of the Cortés, withheld its ratification of the treaty for nearly two years; and within a year after that ratification had been given, the authority of Spain was extinguished in every portion of America contiguous to the new line of boundary.*

With regard to the extent of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and the validity of the title to it thus acquired by the United States, it will be convenient here to introduce some observations.

* See the third article of the treaty of 1819, defining the boundary, as settled, in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the Letter K, No. 6. The correspondence which passed during the negotiation may be found accompanying President Monroe's message to Congress of February 22d, 1819. Great skill and knowledge of the subject are displayed by each of the plenipotentiaries in this correspondence; the Chevalier de Onís occasionally employing that *finesse* which was considered as the principal weapon of the diplomatist of the last centuries, while Mr. Adams, in addition to his superior acquaintance with history and national law, impresses upon the reader his profound conviction of the justice of his cause.

The Spanish plenipotentiary, on returning to his country, found it necessary to vindicate his conduct in this negotiation, by a Memoir, published at Madrid in 1820, in which he shows that he was by no means convinced of the right of Spain to the territory west of the Sabine River; and he claims especial commendation from his government for this part of the treaty of 1819, "which," he says, "is improperly styled a treaty of *cession*, whereas it is in reality one of *exchange*, or *permutation*, of a small province for another of double the extent, more rich and fertile. I will agree," he adds, "that the third article might, with greater clearness, have been expressed thus: '*In exchange, the United States cede to his Catholic majesty the provinces of Texas, &c.*'; but as I had been for three years maintaining, in the lengthened correspondence herein inserted, that this province belonged to the king, it would have been a contradiction to express, in the treaty, that the United States *cede* it to his majesty."

The Chevalier de Onís, however, insinuates, in his Memoir, that one object of his long correspondence on this subject was to gain time. In fact, during the summer of 1818, while the correspondence was partially suspended, (with the same object of gaining time, no doubt,) the Spanish government formally applied to that of Great Britain for aid, or mediation, in the affair; to which Lord Castlereagh immediately returned a decided negative, at the same time advising the Spanish government to cede Florida to the United States, and to make any other arrangement which might be deemed proper, *without delay*.

That the Nootka convention expired on the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1796, and could not have been after that period in force, except in virtue of a distinct and formal renewal by the same parties — is consonant with the universal practice of civilized nations, and especially of Great Britain, as manifested during the well-known negotiations between her government and that of the United States, in 1815, respecting the Newfoundland fishery. Mr. Adams, the American plenipotentiary, on that occasion, insisted that his countrymen should continue, not only to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, but also to land on the British American coasts for the same purpose, as they had done before the war of 1812, by the treaty of 1783, although that treaty had not been renewed by the treaty of Ghent, at the termination of the war — upon the ground that the treaty of 1783, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, was “of a peculiar nature, and bore, in that nature, a character of permanency, not subject, like many of the ordinary contracts between independent nations, to abrogation by a subsequent war between the same parties.” To this the British minister, Lord Bathurst, answered, that, “if the United States derived from the treaty of 1783 privileges from which other independent nations, not admitted by treaty, were excluded, the duration of those privileges must depend on the duration of the instrument by which they were granted; and if the war abrogated the treaty, it determined the privileges. It has been urged, indeed,” continues his lordship, “on the part of the United States, that the treaty of 1783 was of a peculiar nature, and that, because it contained a recognition of American independence, it could not be abrogated by a subsequent war between the parties. To a position of this novel nature Great Britain cannot accede. *She knows of no exception to the rule, that all treaties are put an end to by a subsequent war between the same parties*: she cannot, therefore, consent to give to her diplomatic relations with one state a different degree of permanency from that on which her connection with all other states depends. Nor can she consider any one state at liberty to assign to a treaty, made with her, such a peculiarity of character, as shall make it, as to duration, an exception to all other treaties, in order to found on a peculiarity thus assumed an irrevocable title to all indulgences which have all the features of temporary concessions.” The British minister, indeed, admitted that *recognitions of right in a treaty might be considered as perpetual obligations*: and, referring to the terms of the treaty of 1783, he showed that the *right* of

the Americans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland (that is to say, in the open sea) was there distinctly *acknowledged*, while the *liberty* to use the British coasts for the same purpose was *conceded* to them; and that, although the *right* subsisted in virtue of the independence of the United States, the *liberty* expired on the declaration of war in 1812, and could not again be enjoyed, without the express consent of Great Britain. It may be added that the position thus assumed by the British government was maintained throughout the negotiation; at the end of which, the *liberty* to take and cure fish on certain parts of the British American coasts, so long as they should remain unsettled, was secured to the citizens of the United States, in common with British subjects, forever, by the first article of the convention of October 20th, 1818.*

Applying to the Nootka convention the rule thus enforced by Great Britain in 1815, with all its exceptions in their widest sense, there can be no question that this compact was entirely abrogated by the war between that power and Spain, begun in October, 1796. On analyzing the convention, it will be seen that the *first*, *second*, and *eighth* articles relate exclusively to certain acts, which were to be forthwith performed by one or both of the parties, and which having been performed, as they all were, before 1796, those articles became dead letters. By the *third* article, "*it is agreed, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve, in future, a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties,*" that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested in navigating or fishing in the Pacific or Southern Oceans, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, "*for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there;*" under certain restrictions, nevertheless, to the specification of which the *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* articles are entirely devoted: the remaining *seventh* article merely indicating the course to be pursued in cases of infraction of the others. The Nootka convention thus contains nothing which can be construed as a *perpetual obligation*, no assertion or recognition of *right*, which can be deemed irrevocable; but is, as a whole, and in each of its separate stipulations, a concession, or series of concessions. To navigate and fish in the open sea, and to trade and settle on coasts unoccupied by any civilized nation, are indeed rights claimed by all civilized nations: Spain, however, did not

* Correspondence annexed to President Monroe's message to Congress of December 29th, 1818.

acknowledge these rights as existing in any other power with regard to the Pacific and Southern Oceans and their American coasts; and, by the Nootka convention, she merely engaged to desist from the exercise of privileges claimed by her in those seas and coasts, so far as British subjects might be affected by them, on condition that Great Britain should desist from the exercise of privileges claimed by her, in the same quarters of the world. After the abrogation of the convention by war, each nation might again assert and exercise the privileges claimed by it before the conclusion of the compact; and neither could be regarded as bound by any of the restrictions defined in that instrument, until they had been formally renewed by express consent of both the original parties.

The war begun by Spain against Great Britain, in 1796, continued, with the intermission of the two years of uncertainty succeeding the peace of Amiens, until 1809, when those nations were again allied, in opposition to France. Since that period, they have remained constantly at peace with each other. The only engagement made between them for the renewal of treaties subsisting before 1796, is contained in the first of the three additional articles to the treaty of Madrid, signed on the 24th of August, 1814, wherein "*It is agreed that, pending the negotiation of a new treaty of commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain, upon the same conditions as those which existed previously to 1796; all the treaties of commerce, which at that period subsisted between the two nations, being hereby ratified and confirmed.*" Thus the Nootka convention could not have been in force at any time between October, 1796, and August, 1814; nor since that period, unless it were renewed by the additional article above quoted. That the first part of this article related only to trade between the *European* dominions of Great Britain and Spain, is certain, because no trade had ever been allowed, by treaty or otherwise, between either kingdom, or its colonies, and the colonies of the other, except in the single case of the *Asiento*, concluded in 1713, and abrogated in 1740, agreeably to which the British South Sea Company supplied the Spanish colonies with negro slaves during that period; and because, moreover, by an article in the treaty of Madrid, to which the above-quoted article is additional, "*In the event of the commerce of the Spanish American colonies being opened to foreign nations, his Catholic majesty promises that Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with those possessions, as the most favored nation.*" The second part of the additional article is evidently intended merely in confir-

mation and completion of the first, which would otherwise have wanted the requisite degree of precision ; and it certainly could not have embraced the convention of 1790, except so far as related to the commerce of each of the parties on the unoccupied coasts of America, and the settlements made by each for that special purpose.

Had the convention of 1790 been expressly renewed and confirmed in 1814, it would still have been inoperative, except with regard to subjects and establishments of the contracting parties. The governments of Great Britain and Spain might have again agreed that their subjects should reciprocally enjoy liberty of access and trade, in all establishments which either might form on the north-west coasts of America ; but neither power could have claimed such rights in places on those coasts then occupied by a third nation.

It has been already shown that, after the abandonment of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards, in March, 1795, no settlement was made, or attempted, by them in any of the countries on the western side of America north of the Bay of San Francisco ; and that, during the period between that year and 1814, many establishments were formed in those countries by Russians, British, and citizens of the United States. The Russians extended their posts from Aliaska eastward to Sitka, and even fixed themselves within a few miles of the Bay of San Francisco. The British founded their first establishment west of the Rocky Mountains, in 1806, on the upper waters of Fraser's River, near the 54th degree of latitude. The Columbia was surveyed by order of the government of the United States, with a view to its occupation, in 1805 ; and their citizens made establishments on that river successively in 1808, 1810, and 1811, of which the principal were, in 1813, taken by the British, and in 1818, restored to the Americans, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent. Under such circumstances, the title of Spain to the countries north of the Bay of San Francisco, however strong it may have been in 1790 or 1796, in virtue of discoveries and settlements, must be allowed to have become considerably weaker in 1819, from disuse, and from submission to the acts of occupation by other powers. Thus, whilst it may be doubted that either of those powers could in justice claim the sovereignty of the country occupied by its subjects without the consent of Spain, the latter could not have claimed the exclusive possession of such country, or have entered into compacts with a third power, respecting trade, navigation, or settlement, in it, agreeably to any recognized principle of national law. Still less could Great Britain have claimed the right to exclude other

nations from the sovereignty of the regions traversed by the Columbia, in which her subjects had made no discoveries, and which had been first occupied by the United States, unless upon the ground of conquest during war; and this ground became untenable after the treaty of Ghent, as distinctly acknowledged by the British government in the fact of the restoration of Astoria.

Thus, whilst the title to the countries north of the 42d parallel of latitude, derived by the United States from Spain, through the Florida treaty, was undoubtedly imperfect, — though not from any possible effect of the Nootka convention, as insisted by the British government in 1826, — yet that title, in addition to those previously possessed by the Americans, in virtue of their discoveries and settlements in the Columbia countries, appears to constitute a right in their favor, stronger than could be alleged by any other nation, if not amounting to an absolute right of sovereignty.

Immediately after the signature of the Florida treaty, an expedition for the purpose of examining the country drained by the Missouri and its branches was organized by Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of war of the United States, who had been, for some time previous, assiduously endeavoring to regulate the intercourse with the Indians,* and to extend the military posts of the United States through those regions. The party, comprising a large number of officers and men of science, passed the summer of 1819 in examining the Lower Missouri, and the following winter in cantonment at Council Bluffs, on the west side of that river, eight hundred and fifty miles above its junction with the Mississippi. In June of the following year they proceeded up the valley of the Platte, to the confluence of its north and south branches or forks, and then continued along the south fork, to its sources in the Rocky Mountains, near the 40th degree of latitude. Here Dr. James, the botanist of the expedition, ascended a mountain, named after him *James's Peak*, the height of which was estimated, though on data by no

* See Mr. Calhoun's report on this subject to the House of Representatives, dated December 5th, 1818, in which he reviews the system of intercourse with the Indians then pursued, and recommends, as the only means of protecting them against the cupidity of the traders, and of securing the United States against the deleterious influence exercised over those people by the British trading companies, that the whole trade in the regions beyond the organized states and territories of the Union should be vested, for twenty years, in a company, subject to such regulations as might be prescribed by law. This document merits attention, from the accuracy of the details and the force of the reasoning; and we may now regret that the plan proposed by Mr. Calhoun was not carried into effect.

means sufficient, at not less than eight thousand five hundred feet above the ocean level; and then, striking the head-waters of the Arkansas, which also flows from the same mountain, they descended the valley of that river to its junction with the Mississippi. Much information was obtained, through this expedition, respecting the geography, natural history, and aboriginal inhabitants, of the countries traversed, all of which was communicated to the world in an exact and perspicuous narrative, published by Dr. James in 1823. One most important fact, in a political point of view, was completely established by the observations of the party; namely, that the whole division of North America, drained by the Missouri and the Arkansas, and their tributaries, between the meridian of the mouth of the Platte and the Rocky Mountains, is almost entirely unfit for cultivation, and therefore uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. The portion of this territory within five hundred miles of the Rocky Mountains, on the east, extending from the 39th to the 49th parallels of latitude, was indeed found to be a desert of sand and stones; and subsequent observations have shown the adjoining regions, to a great distance west of those mountains, to be still more arid and sterile. These circumstances, as they became known through the United States, rendered the people and their representatives in the federal legislature more and more indifferent with regard to the territories on the north-western side of the continent. It became always difficult, and generally impossible, to engage the attention of Congress to any matters connected with those countries; emigrants from the populous states of the Union would not banish themselves to the distant shores of the Pacific, whilst they could obtain the best lands on the Mississippi and its branches at moderate prices; and capitalists would not vest their funds in establishments for the administration and continued possession of which they could have no guarantee. From 1813 until 1823, few, if any, American citizens were employed in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains; and ten years more elapsed before any settlement was formed, or even attempted, by them in that part of the world.

Changes were, about the same time, made in the system of the British trade in the northern parts of America, which led to the most important political and commercial results.

Frequent allusions have been already made to the enmity subsisting between the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies.

This feeling was displayed only in words, or in the commission of petty acts of injury or annoyance by each against the other, until 1814, when a regular war broke out between the parties, which was, for some time after, openly carried on. The scene of the hostilities was the territory traversed by the Red River of Hudson's Bay and its branches, in which Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, had, in 1811, obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company a grant of not less than a hundred thousand square miles, for the establishment of agricultural colonies. The validity of this grant was denied by the North-West Company, to which the proposed occupation of the territory in question would have been absolutely ruinous, as the routes from Canada to the north-western trading posts ran through it, and from it were obtained nearly all the provisions consumed at those posts. The British government, however, appeared to favor and protect Lord Selkirk's project, and a large number of Scotch Highlanders were, without opposition, established on Red River, the country about which received, in 1812, the name of *Ossinobia*. For two years after the formation of the settlement, peace was maintained; at length, in January, 1814, Miles Macdonnell, the governor of the new province, issued a proclamation, in which he set forth the limits of the region claimed by his patron, and prohibited all persons, under pain of seizure and prosecution, from carrying out of it "any provisions, either of flesh, dried meat, grain, or vegetables," during that year. The attempts to enforce this prohibition were resisted by the North-West traders, who appeared so resolute in their determination not to yield, that the colonists became alarmed, and quitted the country, some of them returning to Canada, and others emigrating to the United States. In the following year, Lord Selkirk again sent settlers of various nations to the Red River, between whom and the North-West people hostilities were immediately begun. Posts were taken and destroyed on both sides; and, on the 19th of June, 1816, a battle was fought, in which the Ossinobians were routed, and seventeen of their number, including their governor, Mr. Semple, were killed. The country was then again abandoned by the settlers.*

These affairs were brought before the British Parliament in June,

* *Lord Selkirk's Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, published in 1816, and the review of it in the *London Quarterly Review* for October, 1816 — *Narrative of the Occurrences in the Indian Countries of America*, published by the North-West Company in 1817, containing all the documents on the subject.

1819; and a debate ensued, in the course of which the proceedings of the two rival associations were minutely investigated. The ministry then interposed its mediation, and a compromise was thus at length effected, by which the North-West Company became united with, or rather merged in, the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time, and in connection with this arrangement, an "*act for regulating the fur trade and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in certain parts of North America*" was passed in Parliament, containing every provision required to give stability to the Hudson's Bay Company, and efficiency to its operations.

By this act, passed on the 2d of July, 1821, the king was authorized to make grants or give licenses to any body corporate, company, or person, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, in all such parts of North America as may be specified in the grants, not being parts of the territories previously granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, or of any of his majesty's provinces in North America, or any territories belonging to the United States of America: *provided, however*, that no such grant or license shall be given for a longer period than twenty-one years; that no grant or license for exclusive trade, in the part of America west of the Rocky Mountains, which, by the convention of 1818 with the United States, remained free and open to the subjects or citizens of both nations, shall be used to the prejudice or exclusion of citizens of the United States engaged in such trade; and that no British subject shall trade in those territories west of the Rocky Mountains without such license or grant. By the same act, also, the courts of judicature of Upper Canada are empowered to take cognizance of all causes, civil or criminal, arising in any of the above-mentioned territories, including those previously granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, and "*other parts of America, not within the limits of either of the provinces of Upper or Lower Canada, or of any civil government of the United States*;" and justices of the peace are to be commissioned in those territories, to execute and enforce the laws and the decisions of the courts, to take evidence, and commit offenders and send them for trial to Canada, and even, under certain circumstances, to hold courts themselves, for the trial of criminal offences and misdemeanors not punishable by death, and of civil causes, in which the amount at issue should not exceed two hundred pounds.*

* See the act and the grant here mentioned in the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter I, No. 2.

Upon the passage of this act, the union of the two companies was effected, and a grant was made, by the king, to "the governor and company of adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay, and to William Macgillivray, Simon Macgillivray, and Edward Ellice," the persons so named, representing the former proprietors of the North-West Company,* of the exclusive trade, for twenty-one years, in all the countries in which such privileges could be granted agreeably to the act. Persons in the service of the company were, at the same time, commissioned as justices of the peace for those countries; and the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada was rendered effective as far as the shores of the Pacific, no exception being made, in that respect, by the act, with regard to any of the territories embraced in the grant, "*not within the limits of any civil government of the United States.*"

About this period, also, the search for a north-west passage, or navigable communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, which had been so long suspended, was resumed by British officers, under the auspices of their government; and expeditions for that object were made through Baffin's Bay, as well as by land, through the northernmost parts of the American continent. The geographical results of these expeditions were highly interesting, while, at the same time, the skill, courage, and perseverance, of the British were honorably illustrated by the labors of Ross, Parry, Franklin, and their companions. The west coasts of Baffin's Bay were carefully surveyed, and many passages leading from it towards the west and south-west, were traced to considerable distances. The progress of the ships through these passages was, however, in each case, arrested by ice; and, although many extensive portions of the northern coast of the continent were explored, and the Arctic Sea, in their vicinity, was found free from ice during the short summer, the question respecting the existence of a northern channel of communication between the oceans was left unsolved. These voyages, independently of the value of their scientific results, also proved most advantageous to the commerce of the British throughout the whole of their territories in America, as new routes were opened, and new regions, abounding in furs, were rendered accessible.

The Russians were, in the mean time, constantly increasing their

* In 1824, the North-West Company surrendered its rights and interests to the Hudson's Bay Company, in the name of which alone all the operations were thenceforward conducted.

trade in the Pacific, and, in addition to their establishments on the northernmost coasts of that ocean, they had taken possession of the country adjoining Port San Francisco, which they seemed determined, as well as able, to retain. With this object, Baranof, the chief agent of the Russian American Company, in 1812, obtained from the Spanish governor of California permission to erect some houses, and to leave a few men on the shore of Bodega Bay, a little north of Port San Francisco, where they were employed in hunting the wild cattle, and drying meat for the supply of Sitka and the other settlements. In the course of two or three years after this permission was granted, the number of persons thus employed became so great, and their dwelling assumed so much the appearance of a fort, that the governor thought proper to remonstrate on the subject; and, his representations being disregarded, he formally commanded the Russians to quit the territories of his Catholic majesty. The command was treated with as little respect as the remonstrance; and, upon its repetition, the Russian agent, Kuskof, coolly denied the right of the Spaniards over the territory, which he asserted to be free and open for occupation by the people of any civilized power. The governor of California was unable to enforce his commands; and, as no assistance could be afforded to him from Mexico, in which the rebellion was then at its height, the intruders were left in possession of the ground, where they remained until 1840, in defiance alike of Spaniards and of Mexicans.

On the restoration of peace in Europe, in 1814, the Russian American Company resolved to make another effort to establish a direct commercial intercourse, by sea, between its possessions on the North Pacific and the European ports of the empire. With this object, the American ship *Hannibal* was purchased, and, her name having been changed to *Suwarrow*, she was despatched from Cronstadt, under Lieutenant Lazaref, laden with merchandise, for Sitka, whence she returned in the summer of 1815, with a cargo of furs valued at a million of dollars. The adventure proving successful, others of the same kind were made, until the communications became regular, as they now are.

After the departure of this vessel from Sitka, Baranof sent about a hundred Russians and Aleutians, under the direction of Dr. Schaeffer, a German, who had been the surgeon of the *Suwarrow*, with the intention, apparently, of taking possession of one of the Sandwich Islands. These men landed first at Owyhee, whence

they passed successively to Woahoo and Atooi; and in the latter island they remained a year, committing many irregularities, without, however, effecting, in any way, the supposed objects of their expedition, until they were at length forced to submit to the authorities of Tamahamaha, and to quit the islands.*

Expeditions were also made by the Russians to Bering's Strait, and the seas beyond it, for the purpose of determining the question as to the separation of Asia and America, which, though long before supposed to have been ascertained, was again rendered doubtful by some circumstances of recent occurrence. With this object, Captain Otto von Kotzebue sailed from Cronstadt in the ship *Ruric*, which had been fitted out at the expense of the ex-chancellor Romanzof, and, in the summer of 1816, penetrated through the strait into the Arctic Sea; but, although he surveyed the coasts of both continents on that sea more minutely than any navigator who had preceded him, he was unable to advance so far in any direction as Cook had gone in 1778. In 1820, two other vessels were sent to that part of the ocean, with the same objects; but no detailed account of their voyage has been made public. In the mean time, however, the doubts as to the separation of the two continents were completely removed, by Captains Wrangel and Anjou, who surveyed the eastern parts of the Siberian coast with great care, in defiance of the most dreadful difficulties and dangers.†

Nor did the Russians neglect to improve the administration of their affairs on the North Pacific coasts. In 1817, Captain Golownin was despatched from Europe, in the sloop of war *Kamtchatka*, with a commission from the emperor to inquire into the state of the Russian dominions in America; and, upon the report brought back by him, it was resolved that a radical change should be made in the management of those possessions. Accordingly, upon the renewal of the charter of the company on the 8th of July, 1819, regulations were put in execution, by which the governor and other chief officers of Russian America became directly responsible for their

* For further particulars on this subject, the reader—if he should consider the matter worth investigating—may consult Kotzebue's narrative of his voyage to the Pacific, in 1815–16, and Jarves's *History of the Sandwich Islands*.

† See the agreeable and instructive narrative, by Kotzebue, of his voyage in search of a north-east passage. Wrangel's account of his expedition, which has been recently published, is a most interesting work, not only from the multitude of new facts in geography, and in many of the physical sciences, which it communicates, but also from the admiration which it inspires for the courage, good temper, and good feeling, of the adventurous narrator. Wrangel has since been, for many years, the governor-general of Russian America, and is now an admiral in the service of his country.

conduct, and the condition of all classes of the population of those countries was materially benefited. The death of Baranof rendered the introduction of these reforms less difficult; and the superintendence of the colonies has ever since been committed to honorable and enlightened men, generally officers in the Russian navy, under whose direction the abuses formerly prevailing to so frightful an extent, have been gradually removed or abated.*

About the same time, an event occurred, of great importance in the history of a country which is, no doubt, destined materially to influence the political condition of the north-western coasts and regions of America. Tamahamaha, king of all the Sandwich Islands, died in May, 1819, at the age of sixty-three, and was succeeded in power by his son, or reputed son, Riho Riho, or Tamahamaha II.† Of the merits and demerits of Tamahamaha, it would be out of place here to speak at length. He was a chief of note at the time of the discovery of the islands by Cook, when his character had been already formed, and the seeds of much that was evil had been sown, and had taken firm root in his mind. No sooner, however, was he brought into contact with civilized men, than he began to learn, and, what was more difficult, to unlearn. His first objects were of a nature purely selfish. He sought power to gratify his ambition and his thirst for pleasure, but he used it, when obtained, for nobler ends; and of all the sovereigns of the earth, his contemporaries, no one certainly attempted or effected as much, in proportion to his means, for the advancement of his people, as this barbarian chief of a little ocean island.

Upon the death of Tamahamaha, great changes were effected in the affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The old king had resolutely maintained the religion of his forefathers, though he suppressed many of its horrible ceremonies and observances. Riho Riho, however, soon after his accession, abolished that religion, and embraced the faith of the white men who came to his islands in great ships from distant countries. His principal chiefs, Boki and Krymakoo, (or Kalaimaku,) had been previously, in August, 1819, baptized and received into the bosom of the Roman Catholic church by the

* *Statische und ethnographische Nachrichten, über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika*—Statistical and ethnographical Notices concerning the Russian Possessions on the North-West Coasts of America—by Admiral von Wrangel, late governor-general of those countries, published at St. Petersburg, in 1839.

† These names are now generally written *Liho Liho* and *Kamohamaha*.

chaplain of the French corvette *L'Uranie*, during her voyage around* the world under Captain Freycinet; and, early in 1820, a vessel reached the islands from Boston, bringing a number of missionaries of the Presbyterian or Congregationalist sects, who have been established there ever since, and have exercised, as will be hereafter shown, a powerful and generally beneficial influence over the people and their rulers.*

* The American missionaries, immediately on entering the Sandwich Islands, began the study of the language through which their instructions were to be conveyed. This language they found to be the same throughout the group; but, as considerable differences existed in its pronunciation in different islands, they selected the most pure, or the most generally used, of the dialects, in which they formed a vocabulary, employing English letters to represent the sounds, but wisely confining each letter to the expression of a fixed sound. The History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which may be considered as official authority on all matters connected with the missions in the Sandwich Islands, contains, at 112, the following clear and concise view of the system of orthography thus adopted:—

"The Hawaiian [Owyheean] alphabet contains twelve letters only. It has five vowels—*a*, sounded as *a* in *father*; *e*, as *a* in *hate*; *i*, as *ee* in *feet*; *o*, as *o* in *pole*; and *u*, as *oo* in *boot*; and seven consonants—*h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, and *w*, sounded as in English. The long English sound of *i* is represented by *ai*, as in *Lahaina*, where the second syllable is accented, and pronounced like the English word *high*. The second syllable, *wai*, of *Hawaii*, the name of the largest of the islands, is pronounced like the first syllable of the English name *Wyman*; and, giving the letters the usual English sounds, it might be spelled *Ha-wy-ee*. The first syllable should be pronounced very slightly, and a strong accent placed on the second. The sound of *ow* (in *cow*) is represented by *au*; as, *Maui*, pronounced *Mow-ee*. The natives do not distinguish the sounds of *k* and *t* from each other, but call the same island sometimes *Kau* and *Tau*, without perceiving the difference. In the same way, *d*, *l*, and *r*, are confounded, and the same place is called indifferently *Hido*, *Hilo*, or *Hiro*. The same occurs in respect to *w* and *v*. In fact, these interchangeable consonants are very slightly and indistinctly uttered, so that a foreigner is at a loss to know which the speaker intends to use."

Agreeably to this system, the missionaries have published a translation of the Bible, and many other books, in the language of the Sandwich Islands. It is, however, much to be regretted that they and their friends, from whom nearly all the information is now received respecting that part of the world, should think proper to apply their orthography exclusively, not only to the names of places and persons which have recently gained notoriety, but likewise to those with which every one has become familiar through the journals of Cook and Vancouver. Names are, indeed, not written uniformly in the journals here mentioned; but the differences are in general slight, far less than between any one of the old names and that assigned to the same object in the new system: and the best informed men, who have not studied that system thoroughly, will scarcely be able to discover that the *Hawaii* of the missionaries is *Owyhee*; that *Keilakakua* is the *Karakakooa* rendered sacred as the scene of Cook's death; and that *Kaumali* and *Kamehameha* are no others than their old acquaintances, *Tamoree* and *Tamahamaha*, under new titles. What would be thought of an English history of Germany, in which places and persons appeared only under their German names—in which Vienna should be written *Wien*; Moravia, *Machren*; Bohemia, *Bochmen*; Francis, *Franz*; Charles, *Karl*; &c.?

CHAPTER XVI.

1820 to 1828.

Bill reported by a Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, for the Occupation of the Columbia River—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia, with Regard to the North Pacific Coasts—Negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States—Conventions between the United States and Russia, and between Great Britain and Russia—Further Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain relative to the North-West Coasts—Indefinite Extension of the Arrangement for the joint Occupancy of the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, by the British and the Americans.

BEFORE 1820, little, if any thing, relative to the countries west of the Rocky Mountains had been said in the Congress of the United States; and those countries had excited very little interest among the citizens of the federal republic in general.

In December of that year, however, immediately after the ratification of the Florida treaty by Spain, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives in Congress, on the motion of Mr. Floyd, of Virginia — “that an inquiry should be made, as to the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and as to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.” The committee to which this resolution was referred, presented, in January following, a long report, containing a sketch of the history of colonization in America, with an account of the fur trade in the northern and north-western sections of the continent, and a description of the country claimed by the United States; from all which are drawn the conclusions, — that the whole territory of America bordering upon the Pacific, from the 41st degree of latitude to the 53d, if not to the 60th, belongs of right to the United States, in virtue of the purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, of the acquisition of the titles of Spain by the Florida treaty, and of the discoveries and settlements of American citizens; — that the trade of this territory in furs and other articles, and the fisheries on its coasts, might be rendered highly productive; and — that these advantages might be secured to citizens of the United States exclusively, by establishing “small trading guards” on the most north-eastern point of the Missouri,

and at the mouth of the Columbia, and by favoring emigration to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, not only from the United States, but also from China. To this report the committee appended "a bill for the occupation of the Columbia, and the regulation of the trade with the Indians in the territories of the United States." Without making any remarks upon the character of this report, it may be observed, that the terms of the bill are directly at variance with the provisions of the third article of the convention of October, 1818, between the United States and Great Britain; as the Columbia could not possibly be *free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of both nations*, if it were *occupied* by either. The bill was suffered to lie on the table of the House during the remainder of the session: in the ensuing year, it was again brought before Congress, and an estimate was obtained, from the navy commissioners, of the expense of transporting cannon, ammunition, and stores, by sea, to the mouth of the Columbia; but no further notice was taken of the subject until the winter of 1823. †

Measures had, in the mean time, been adopted by the Russian government, with regard to the north-west coasts of America, which strongly excited the attention of both the other powers claiming dominion in that quarter.

Soon after the renewal of the charter of the Russian American Company, a *ukase*, or imperial decree, was issued at St. Petersburg, by which the whole west coast of America, north of the 51st parallel, and the whole east coast of Asia, north of the latitude of 45 degrees 50 minutes, with all the adjacent and intervening islands, were declared to belong exclusively to Russia; and foreigners were prohibited, under heavy penalties, from approaching within a hundred miles of any of those coasts, except in cases of extreme necessity.*

This decree was officially communicated to the government of the United States in February, 1822, by the Chevalier de Poletica, Russian minister at Washington, between whom and Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American secretary of state, a correspondence immediately took place on the subject. Mr. Adams, in his first note, simply made known the surprise of the president at the assertion of a claim, on the part of Russia, to so large a portion of the west

* The ukase, dated September 4th, 1821, and the correspondence between the Russian and American governments with regard to it, may be found at length among the documents accompanying President Monroe's message to Congress, of April 17th, 1822.

coasts of America, and at the promulgation, by that power, of rules of restriction so deeply affecting the rights of the United States and their citizens; and he desired to know whether the minister was authorized to give explanations of the grounds of the right claimed, upon principles generally recognized by the laws and usages of nations.

To this M. Poletica replied by a long letter, containing a sketch — generally erroneous — of the discoveries of his countrymen on the north-west coasts of America, which extended, according to his idea, southward as far as the 49th parallel of latitude. He defended the assumption of the 51st parallel as the southern limit of the possessions of his sovereign, upon the ground that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the citizens of the United States had made an establishment, and the Russian settlement of Sitka; and he finally maintained that his government would be justifiable in exercising the rights of sovereignty *over the whole of the Pacific north of the said parallel*, inasmuch as that section of the sea was bounded on both sides by Russian territories, and was thus, in fact, a *close sea*. The secretary of state, in return, asserted that, “from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, their vessels had freely navigated those seas; and the right to navigate them was a part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the north-west coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations.” He denied *in toto* the claim of the Russians to any part of America south of the 55th degree of latitude, on the ground that this parallel was declared, in the charter* of the Russian American Company, to be the southern limit of the dis-

* The first article of the charter or privilege granted by the emperor Paul to the Russian American Company, on the 8th of July, 1799, is as follows:—

“In virtue of the discovery, by Russian navigators, of a part of the coast of America in the north-east, beginning from the 55th degree of latitude, and of chains of islands extending from Kamtchatka, northward towards America, and southward towards Japan, Russia has acquired the right of possessing those lands; and the said company is authorized to enjoy all the advantages of industry, and all the establishments, upon the said coast of America, in the north-east, from the 55th degree of latitude to Bering's Strait, and beyond it, as also upon the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and the others, situated in the eastern Arctic Ocean.”

By the second article,—

“The company may make new discoveries, not only north, but also south, of the said 55th parallel of latitude, and may occupy and bring under the dominion of Russia all territories thus discovered, observing the rule, that such territories should not have been previously occupied and placed under subjection by another nation.”

coveries of the Russians in 1799; since which period they had made no discoveries or establishments south of the said line, on the coast now claimed by them. With regard to the suggestion that the Russian government might justly exercise sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean as a *close sea*, because it claims territories both on the Asiatic and the American shores, Mr. Adams merely observed, that the distance between those shores, on the parallel of 51 degrees north, is *four thousand miles*; and he concluded by expressing the persuasion of the president that the citizens of the United States would remain unmolested in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, and that no effect would be given to a prohibition manifestly incompatible with their rights.

The Russian minister plenipotentiary, a few days after the receipt of Mr. Adams's last communication, sent another note, supporting the rights of his sovereign, in which he advanced "the authentic fact, that, in 1789, the Spanish packet St. Charles, commanded by Captain Haro, found, in the latitude of *forty-eight and forty-nine degrees*, Russian establishments, to the number of eight, consisting, in the whole, of twenty families, and four hundred and sixty-two individuals, who were the descendants of the companions of Captain Tchirikof, supposed until then to have perished." Respecting this "*authentic fact*," it has been shown, in the account* already given of the Spanish voyage to which the Chevalier Poletica refers, that Martinez and Haro did find eight Russian establishments on the North Pacific coast of America in 1788, but that they were all situated in the latitudes of *fifty-eight and fifty-nine degrees*, and that the persons inhabiting them had all been, a short time previous, transported thither, from Kamtchatka and the Aleutian Islands, by Schelikof, the founder of the Russian American Company. The minister doubtless derived his information from the introduction to the journal of Marchand's voyage; but he neglected to read the note appended to that account, in which the error is explained.

The prohibitory regulation of the Russian emperor, and the correspondence relating to it, were immediately submitted to the Congress of the United States; and, in the ensuing year, a negotiation was commenced at St. Petersburg, the object of which was to settle amicably and definitively the limits of the territories on the north-west side of America, claimed by the two nations respectively, and the terms upon which their navigation and trade in the North Pacific were in future to be conducted. A negotiation,

* See p. 186.

for similar purposes, was, at the same time, in progress at St. Petersburg, between the governments of Russia and Great Britain; the latter power having formally protested against the claims and principles advanced in the ukase of 1821, immediately on its appearance, and subsequently, during the session of the congress of European sovereigns at Verona.* Under these circumstances, a desire was felt, on the part of the government of the United States, that a joint convention should be concluded between the three nations having claims to territories on the north-west side of America; and the envoys of the republic at London and St. Petersburg were severally instructed to propose a stipulation to the effect that no settlement should, during the next ten years, be made, in those territories, by Russians south of the latitude of 55 degrees, by citizens of the United States north of the latitude of 51 degrees, or by British subjects south of the 51st or north of the 55th parallels.

This proposition for a joint convention was not accepted by either of the governments to which it was addressed; the principal ground of the refusal by each being the declaration made by President Monroe in his message to Congress, at the commencement of the session of 1823, that — in the discussions and arrangements then going on with respect to the north-west coasts — “the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, *that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power.*” † Against this declaration,

* Debate in Parliament on the inquiry made by Sir James Mackintosh on this subject, May 21, 1823.

† The message of December 2d, 1823, containing this declaration, also announced the resolution of the United States to view “as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition” towards themselves any attempt, on the part of a European power, to oppress or control the destiny of any of the independent states of America. This noble resolution was taken upon the assurance that the United States would, if necessary, be sustained in enforcing it by Great Britain, without whose coöperation it would have been ineffective, certainly as to the prevention of the attempts. The circumstances which induced the American government thus, at the same time, openly to offer a blow at the only nation on whose assistance it could depend, in case the anticipated attempts should be made by the despotic powers of Europe, have not been disclosed. That it is the true policy of the United States, by all lawful means, to resist the extension of European dominion in America, and to confine its limits, and abridge its duration, wherever it may actually exist, is a proposition which no arguments are required to demonstrate, either to American citizens or to European sovereigns; but this proclamation, by the government of the United States, of its intention to pursue those ends, could have no other effect than to delay the attainment of them, as it has evidently done.

which — however just and politic might have been the principle announced — was unquestionably imprudent, or at least premature, the British and the Russian governments severally protested ; and as there were many other points on which it was not probable that the three powers could agree, it was determined that the negotiations should be continued, as they had been commenced, separately at London and at St. Petersburg.

Another publication, equally impolitic on the part of the American government, soon after contributed to render more difficult the settlement of the question of boundaries on the Pacific between the United States and Great Britain.

A select committee, appointed by the House of Representatives of the United States, in December, 1823, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia, requested General Thomas S. Jesup, the quartermaster-general of the army, to communicate his opinions respecting the propriety of the measure proposed, as well as its practicability and the best method of executing it ; in answer to which that officer sent, on the 16th of February, 1824, a letter containing an exposition of his views of the true policy of the United States with regard to the north-west coasts and territories of America, and of the means by which they might be carried into effect. Leaving aside the question as to the rights of the United States, he considered the possession and military command of the Columbia and of the Upper Missouri necessary for the protection, not only of the fur trade, but also of the whole western frontier of the republic, which is every where in contact with numerous, powerful, and warlike tribes of savages : and, for this purpose, he recommended the immediate despatch of two hundred men across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, while two merchant vessels should transport thither the cannon, ammunition, materials, and stores, requisite for the first establishment ; after which, four or five intermediate posts should be formed at points between Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, (the most western spot then occupied by American troops,) and the Pacific. By such means, says the letter, "present protection would be afforded to our traders, and, on the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our own citizens."

The report of the committee, with the letter from General Jesup annexed, was ordered to lie on the table of the House, and nothing

more was done on the subject during that session ; the papers, however, were both published, and they immediately attracted the attention of the British ministry. In a conference held at London, in July following, between the American envoy, Mr. Rush, and the British commissioners, Messrs. Huskisson and Stratford Canning, the latter gentlemen commented upon the observations of General Jesup, particularly upon those respecting the removal of British traders from the territories of the Columbia, which, they said, "were calculated to put Great Britain especially upon her guard, appearing, as they did, at a moment when a friendly negotiation was pending between the two powers for the adjustment of their relative and conflicting claims to that entire district of country."

It is moreover certain, from the accounts of Mr. Rush, as well as from those given subsequently by Mr. Gallatin, that the publication of General Jesup's letter, and the declaration in President Monroe's message against the establishment of European colonies in America, rendered the British government much less disposed to any concession, with regard to the north-west territories, than it would otherwise have been ; and there is reason to believe, from many circumstances, that they tended materially to produce a union of views, approaching to a league, between that power and Russia, which has proved very disadvantageous to the interests of the United States on the North Pacific coasts.

The negotiation respecting the north-west coasts of America, commenced at London in April, 1824, was not long continued ; the parties being so entirely at variance with regard to facts as well as principles, that the impossibility of effecting any new arrangement soon became evident. Mr. Rush,* the American plenipotentiary, began by claiming for the United States the exclusive possession and sovereignty of the whole country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d degree of latitude, at least as far north as the 51st, between which parallels all the waters of the Columbia were then supposed to be included. In support of this claim, he cited, as in 1818, the facts — of the first discovery of the Columbia by Gray — of the first exploration of that river from its sources to the sea by Lewis and Clarke — of the first settlement on its banks by the Pacific Fur Company, "a settlement which was reduced by the arms of the British during the late war, but was formally sur-

* Letter from Mr. Rush to the secretary of state, of August 12th, 1824, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

rendered up to the United States at the return of peace," and — of the transfer by Spain to the United States of all her titles to those territories, founded upon the well-known discoveries of her navigators; and he insisted, agreeably to express instructions from his government, "that no part of the American continent was thenceforth to be open to colonization from Europe." In explanation and defence of this declaration, Mr. Rush "referred to the principles settled by the Nootka Sound convention of 1790, and remarked, that Spain had now lost all her exclusive colonial rights, recognized under that convention: first, by the fact of the independence of the South American states and of Mexico; and next, by her express renunciation of all her rights, of whatever kind, above the 42d degree of north latitude, to the United States. Those new states would themselves now possess the rights incident to their condition of political independence; and the claims of the United States above the 42d parallel as high up as 60 degrees — claims as well in their own right as by succession to the title of Spain — would henceforth necessarily preclude other nations from forming colonial establishments upon any part of the American continents."

Messrs. Huskisson and Canning, in reply, denied that the circumstance of a merchant vessel of the United States having penetrated the north-west coast of America at the Columbia River, could give to the United States a claim along that coast, both north and south of the river, over territories which, they insisted, had been previously discovered by Great Britain herself, in expeditions fitted out under the authority and with the resources of the nation. They declared that British subjects had formed settlements upon the Columbia, or upon rivers flowing into it west of the Rocky Mountains, coeval with, if not prior to, the settlement made by American citizens at its mouth; and that the surrender of that settlement after the late war was in fulfilment of the treaty of Ghent, and did not affect the question of right in any way. They treated as false or doubtful the accounts of many of the Spanish voyages in the Pacific; alleging, as more authentic, the narrative of Drake's expedition, from which it appeared that he had, in 1579, explored the west coast of America to the 48th parallel of latitude, five or six degrees farther north than the Spaniards themselves pretended to have advanced before that period: and they refused to admit that any title could be derived from the mere fact of Spanish navigators having first seen the coast at particular spots, even when this was capable of being fully substantiated. Finally,

they assured Mr. Rush that *their government would never assent to the claim set forth by him respecting the territory watered by the Columbia River and its tributaries*, which, besides being essentially objectionable in its general bearings, had also the effect of interfering directly with the actual rights of Great Britain, derived from use, occupancy, and settlement; asserting, at the same time, that "they considered the unoccupied parts of America just as much open as heretofore to colonization by Great Britain, as well as by other European powers, agreeably to the convention of 1790, between the British and Spanish governments, and that the United States would have no right to take umbrage at the establishment of new colonies from Europe, in any such parts of the American continent." *

After much discussion on these points, Mr. Rush presented a proposal from his government, that any country west of the Rocky Mountains, which might be claimed by the United States, or by Great Britain, should be free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations for ten years from the date of the agreement: *Provided*, that, during this period, no settlements were to be made by British subjects north of the 55th or south of the 51st degrees of latitude, nor by American citizens north of the latter parallel. To this proposal, which Mr. Rush afterwards varied by substituting the 49th parallel of latitude for the 51st, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning replied by a counter proposal, to the effect, that the boundary between the territories of the two nations, beyond the Rocky Mountains, should pass from those mountains westward along the 49th parallel of latitude, to the north-easternmost branch of the Columbia River, called Macgillivray's River on the maps, and thence down the middle of the stream, to the Pacific; the British possessing the country north and west of such line, and the United States that which lay south and east of it: *Provided*, that the subjects or citizens of both nations should be equally at liberty, during the space of ten years from the date of the agreement, to pass by land or by water through all the territories on both sides of the boundary, and to retain and use their establishments already formed in any part of them. The British plenipotentiaries at the same time declared that this their proposal was one from which

* Protocol of the twelfth conference between the plenipotentiaries, held June 26th, 1824, among the documents annexed to President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

Great Britain would certainly not depart; and, as all prospect of compromise was thus destroyed, the negotiation ended.

In this discussion between the United States and Great Britain, upon the subject of their respective claims to the sovereignty of the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, the grounds of those claims were first made to assume a form somewhat definite; and this may be considered as principally due to the labor and penetration of Mr. Rush, who seems to have been the first to inquire carefully into the facts of the case. The introduction by him of the Nootka convention, as an element in the controversy, was according to express instructions from his government.* It appears to have been wholly unnecessary, and was certainly impolitic. No allusion had been made to that arrangement in any of the previous discussions with regard to the north-west coasts, and it was doubtless considered extinct; but when it was thus brought forward by the American government in connection with the declaration against European colonization, as a settlement of general principles with regard to those coasts, an argument was afforded in favor of the subsistence of the convention, of which the British government did not fail to take advantage, as will be hereafter shown.

* "The principles settled by the Nootka Sound convention of 28th October, 1790, were —

"1st. That the rights of fishing in the South Seas; of trading with the natives of the north-west coast of America; and of making settlements on the coast itself, for the purposes of that trade, north of the *actual* settlements of Spain, were common to all the European nations, and, of course, to the United States.

"2d. That, so far as the *actual* settlements of Spain had extended, she possessed the exclusive rights territorial, and of navigation and fishery; extending to the distance of ten miles from the coast so *actually occupied*.

"3d. That, on the coasts of *South America*, and the adjacent islands *south* of the parts already occupied by Spain, no settlement should thereafter be made either by British or Spanish subjects; but, on both sides, should be retained the liberty of landing and of erecting temporary buildings for the purposes of the fishery. These rights were, also, of course, enjoyed by the people of the United States.

"The exclusive rights of Spain to any part of the American continents have ceased. That portion of the convention, therefore, which recognizes the exclusive colonial rights of Spain on these continents, though confirmed, as between Great Britain and Spain, by the first additional article to the treaty of the 5th of July, 1814, has been extinguished by the fact of the independence of the South American nations and of Mexico. Those independent nations will possess the rights incident to that condition, and their territories will, of course, be subject to no *exclusive* right of navigation in their vicinity, or of access to them, by any foreign nation.

"A necessary consequence of this state of things will be, that the American continents, henceforth, will no longer be subject to *colonization*. Occupied by civilized, independent nations, they will be accessible to Europeans, and each other, on that

In the mean time, the negotiation between the United States and Russia was terminated by a convention, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 5th of April, 1824, containing five articles: by the *first* of which, it is agreed that the respective citizens or subjects of the two nations shall not be disturbed or restrained in navigating or in fishing in any part of the Pacific Ocean, or in the power of resorting to the coasts upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving, always, the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles, to wit: by the *second article*, the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point on the north-west coasts of America, where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant of the place, and *vice versa*: by the *third article*, neither the United States nor their citizens shall, in future, form any establishment on those coasts, or the adjacent islands, north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the Russians shall make none south of that latitude. "It is, nevertheless, understood," says the *fourth article*, "that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hinderance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose

footing alone; and the Pacific Ocean, in every part of it, will remain open to the navigation of all nations, in like manner with the Atlantic.'" — Instructions of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, secretary of state of the United States, to Mr. Rush, dated July 22d, 1823, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

With regard to the portion of these instructions here extracted, the reader is referred to the convention of 1790 itself, and to the remarks on it in pp. 213, 258, and 318, of this History, from which it will be seen that the convention, in all its stipulations, was simply an international agreement between Spain and Great Britain, binding them and their subjects only until its expiration, which took place, in consequence of the war, in 1796, and applying in no respect, either as to advantages or restrictions, to any other nation whatsoever; and that, consequently, other nations had the same right to occupy the vacant coasts of America, and to navigate and fish in the adjacent seas, within ten leagues, (the distance defined by the convention,) and even within ten miles, of the parts occupied by Spain, after, as before, the signature of that agreement; and Spain had as much right, after, as before, that event, to prohibit them from so doing. If the Nootka convention were, as asserted by the secretary of state, a definitive settlement of general principles of national law respecting navigation and fishery in the seas, and trade and settlement on the coasts, here mentioned, it would be difficult to resist the pretensions of the British plenipotentiaries with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, as set forth in the *statement* (Proofs and Illustrations, letter H) presented by them to Mr. Gallatin in 1826.

of fishing and trading with the natives of the country :” it being, however, stipulated by the remaining *fifth article*, that spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the fourth article, and that, in case of contravention of this part of the agreement, the nation whose citizens or subjects may have committed the delinquency, shall alone have the right to punish them.*

This convention does not appear to offer any grounds for dispute as to the construction of its stipulations, but is, on the contrary, clear and equally favorable to both nations. The rights of both parties to navigate every part of the Pacific, and to trade with the natives of any places on the coasts of that sea, not already occupied, are first distinctly acknowledged ; after which it is agreed, in order to prevent future difficulties, that each should submit to certain limitations as to navigation, trade, and settlement, on the north-west coasts of America, either perpetually or during a fixed period. Neither party claimed, directly or by inference, the immediate sovereignty of any spot on the American coasts not occupied by its citizens or subjects, or acknowledged the right of the other to the possession of any spot not so occupied ; the definitive regulation of limits being deferred until the establishments and other interests of the two nations in that quarter of the world should have acquired such a development as to render more precise stipulations necessary.

The Russian government, however, construed this convention as giving to itself *the absolute sovereignty of all the west coasts of America north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes*, while denying any such right on the part of the United States to the coasts extending southward from that line. In February, 1825, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Great Britain, relative to North-West America, containing provisions similar to those of the convention between Russia and the United States, expressed in nearly the same words, but also containing many other provisions, some of which are directly at variance with the evident sense of the last-mentioned agreement. Thus it is established, by the treaty, that “ *the line of demarkation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the north-west,*” shall be drawn from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales’s Island, in latitude of 54 degrees 40

* This convention will be found at length among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the concluding part of this volume, under the letter K, No. 4.

minutes eastward, to the great inlet in the continent, called *Portland Channel*, and along the middle of that inlet, to the 56th degree of latitude, whence it shall follow the summit of the mountains bordering the coast, within ten leagues, north-westward, to Mount St. Elias, and thence north, in the course of the 141st meridian west from Greenwich, to the Frozen Ocean; "which line," says the treaty, "*shall form the limit between the Russian and the British possessions in the continent of America to the north-west*;" it being also agreed that the British should forever have the right to navigate any streams flowing into the Pacific from the interior, across the line of demarkation.*

That this treaty virtually annulled the convention, of the preceding year, between Russia and the United States, is evident; for the *convention* rested entirely upon the assumption that the United States possessed the same right to the part of the American coast south of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, which Russia possessed to the part north of that parallel: and the *treaty* distinctly acknowledged the former or southern division of the coast to be the property of Great Britain. It does not, however, appear that any representation on the subject was addressed by the American government to that of Russia; and the vessels of the United States continued to frequent all the unoccupied parts of the north-west coast, and to trade with the natives uninterruptedly, until 1834, when, as will be hereafter shown, they were formally prohibited, by the Russian authorities, from visiting any place on that coast north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, on the ground that their right to do so had expired, agreeably to the convention of 1824.

In December, 1824, President Monroe, in his last annual message to Congress, recommended the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, or at some other point within the acknowledged limits of the United States, in order to afford protection to their commerce and fisheries in the Pacific, to conciliate the Indians of the north-west, and to promote the intercourse be-

* See Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter K, No. 5. Some curious particulars relative to the negotiation which led to this treaty may be found in the Political Life of the Hon. George Canning, by A. G. Stapleton, chap. xiv. Mr. Canning, it seems, was anxious for the conclusion of a joint convention between Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, as regards the freedom of navigation of the Pacific, until the appearance of the declaration in the message of President Monroe above mentioned, after which he determined only to treat with each of the other parties separately.

tween those territories and the settled portions of the republic; to effect which object, he advised that appropriations should be made for the despatch of a frigate, with engineers, to explore the mouth of the Columbia and the adjacent shores. The same measures were, in the following year, also recommended by President Adams, among the various plans for the advantage of the United States and of the world in general, to which he requested the attention of Congress, in his message, at the commencement of the session. In compliance with this recommendation, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives, the chairman of which, Mr. Baylies, of Massachusetts, presented two reports,* containing numerous details with respect to—the history of discovery and trade in North-West America,—the geography, soil, climate, productions, and inhabitants, of the portion claimed by the United States,—the number and value of the furs procured there,—the expenses of surveying the coasts and of forming military establishments for its occupation, and many other matters relating to that part of the world; in consideration whereof, the committee introduced a bill for the immediate execution of the measures proposed by the president. This bill was laid on the table of the House, and the subject was not again agitated in Congress until 1828.

Meanwhile, the period of ten years, during which the countries claimed by the United States or by Great Britain, west of the Rocky Mountains, were, agreeably to the convention of 1818, to remain free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations, was drawing to a close; and a strong desire was manifested, on the part of the American government, that some definitive arrangement with regard to those countries should be concluded between the two powers, before the expiration of the term. The British secretary for foreign affairs also signified that his government was prepared to enter into a new discussion of the question at issue; and a negotiation with these objects was accordingly commenced between Mr. Gallatin, the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and Messrs. Addington and Huskisson, commissioners on the part of Great Britain.

Before relating the particulars of this negotiation, it should be observed that the relative positions of the two parties, as to the occupancy and actual possession of the countries in question, had been materially changed since the conclusion of the former conven-

* Dated severally January 16th, and May 15th, 1826.

tion between them. The union of the rival British companies, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada over the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, had already proved most advantageous to the Hudson's Bay Company, which had at the same time received the privilege of trading in that territory, to the exclusion of all other British subjects. Great efforts were made, and vast expenses were incurred, by this company, in its efforts to found settlements on the Columbia River, and to acquire influence over the natives of the surrounding country; and so successful had been those efforts, that the citizens of the United States were obliged, not only to renounce all ideas of renewing their establishments in that part of America, but even to withdraw their vessels from its coasts. Indeed, for more than ten years after the capture of Astoria by the British, scarcely a single American citizen was to be seen in those countries. Trading expeditions were subsequently made from Missouri to the head-waters of the Platte and the Colorado, within the limits of California, and one or two hundred hunters and trappers, from the United States, were generally roving through that region; but the Americans had no settlements of any kind, and their government exercised no jurisdiction whatsoever west of the Rocky Mountains.

Under such favorable circumstances, the Hudson's Bay Company could not fail to prosper. Its resources were no longer wasted in disputes with rivals; its operations were conducted with despatch and certainty; its posts were extended, and its means of communication increased, under the assurance that the honor of the British government and nation was thereby more strongly interested in its behalf. The agents of the company were seen in every part of the continent, north and north-west of the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hunting, trapping, and trading with the aborigines; its boats were met on every stream and lake, conveying British goods into the interior, or furs to the great depositories on each ocean, for shipment to England in British vessels; and the utmost order and regularity were maintained throughout by the supremacy of British laws. Of the trading posts, many were fortified, and could be defended by their inmates—men inured to hardships and dangers—against all attacks which might be apprehended; and the whole vast expanse of territory above described, including the regions drained by the Columbia, was, in fact, occupied by British forces, and governed by British laws, though there

was not a single British soldier—technically speaking—within its limits.

Considering this state of things, and also the characters of the two nations engaged in the controversy and of their governments, it may readily be supposed that many and great obstacles would exist in the way of a definitive and amicable arrangement of the questions at issue, between the Americans ever solicitous with respect to territory which they have any reason to regard as their own, and the British with whom the acquisition and security of commercial advantages always form a paramount object of policy. To the difficulties occasioned by the conflict of such material interests, in this particular case, were added those arising from the pride of the parties, and their mutual jealousy, which seems ever to render them adverse to any settlement of a disputed point, even though it should be manifestly advantageous to them both.

In the first conference,* the British commissioners declared that their government was still ready to abide by the proposition made to Mr. Rush, in 1824, for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations, drawn from the Rocky Mountains, along the 49th parallel of latitude to the north-easternmost branch of the Columbia, and thence down that river to the sea; giving to Great Britain all the territories north, and to the United States all south, of that line. Mr. Gallatin, in reply, agreeably to instructions from his government, repeated the offer made by himself and Mr. Rush, in 1818, for the adoption of the 49th parallel as the line of separation from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, with the additional provisions, — that, if the said line should cross any of the branches of the Columbia at points from which they are navigable by boats to the main stream, the navigation of such branches, and of the main stream, should be perpetually free and common to the people of both nations—that the citizens or subjects of neither party should thenceforward make any settlements in the territories of the other; but that all settlements already formed by the people of either nation within the limits of the other, might be occupied and used by them for ten years, and no longer, during which all the remaining provisions of the existing convention should continue in force. The British refused to accede to this or any other plan of partition which should deprive them of the northern bank of the

* President Adams's message to Congress of December 28th, 1827, and the accompanying documents.

Columbia, and the right of navigating that river to and from the sea; though they expressed their willingness to yield to the United States, in addition to what they first offered, a *detached territory*, extending, on the Pacific and the Strait of Fuca, from Bulfinch's Harbor to Hood's Canal, and to stipulate that no works should at any time be erected at the mouth or on the banks of the Columbia, calculated to impede the free navigation of that river, by either party. The Americans, however, being equally determined not to give up their title to any part of the country south of the 49th parallel, all expectation of effecting a definitive disposition of the claims was abandoned.

The plenipotentiaries then directed their attention to the subject of a renewal of the arrangement for the use and occupancy of the territories in question by the people of both nations. With this view, the British proposed that the existing arrangement should be renewed according to the terms of the third article of the convention of October 20th, 1818, for fifteen years from the date of the expiration of that convention; with the additional provisions, however, that, during those fifteen years, neither power should assume or exercise any right of exclusive sovereignty or dominion over any part of the territory; and that no settlement then made, or which might thereafter be made, by either nation in those countries, should ever be adduced in support of any claim to such sovereignty or dominion. This proposition was received by Mr. Gallatin for reference to his government, although he saw at once that the additional provisions were inadmissible; and the negotiation was, in consequence, suspended for some months.

During this first period of the negotiation, the claims and pretensions of the two nations respecting the countries in question, were developed and discussed more fully than on any previous occasion, not only in the conferences between the plenipotentiaries, but also in written statements,* formally presented on each side. As nearly

* The *statement* of the British commissioners is presented entire in the *Proofs and Illustrations*, under the letter H, in order that no doubt may subsist as to the nature of the claims of Great Britain, and of the evidence and arguments by which they are supported. As a state paper, it will, perhaps, be found unworthy of the nation on whose part it was produced, and of at least one of the persons from whom it proceeded; many will regret to see appended to it the name of William Huskisson, and to learn that it received the approval of George Canning.

The *counter-statement* of Mr. Gallatin, a most able document, is omitted only because its insertion would have too much increased the bulk of the volume.

every point touched by either of the parties has been already examined minutely in the foregoing pages, it only remains now to recapitulate them, and to add some remarks, which could not have been conveniently introduced at an earlier period.

Mr. Gallatin claimed for the United States the possession of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, on the grounds of—

The acquisition by the United States of the titles of France through the Louisiana treaty, and the titles of Spain through the Florida treaty;

The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, the first exploration of the countries through which that river flows, and the establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens;

The virtual recognition of the title of the United States, by the British government, in the restitution, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war;

And, lastly, upon the ground of *contiguity*, which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power—a doctrine always maintained by Great Britain, from the period of her earliest attempts at colonization in America, as clearly proved by her charters, in which the whole breadth of the continent, between certain parallels of latitude, was granted to colonies established only at points on the borders of the Atlantic.*

Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, on the other hand, declared that Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of the territory on the Pacific between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude; her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, being limited to a right of joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in *abeyance*. They then proceeded to examine the grounds of the claims of the United States, none of which they admitted to be

* "If," says Mr. Gallatin, "some trading factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay have been considered by Great Britain as giving an exclusive right of occupancy as far as the Rocky Mountains; if the infant settlements on the more southern Atlantic shores justified a claim thence to the South Seas, and which was actually enforced to the Mississippi,—that of the millions already within reach of those seas cannot consistently be rejected." This argument, it may be added, has been since constantly increasing in force.

valid, except that acquired from Spain, through the Florida treaty, in 1819; and the right thus acquired they pronounced to be nothing more than the right secured to Spain, in common with Great Britain, by the Nootka convention, in 1790, to trade and settle in any part of those countries, and to navigate their waters. Dismissing the claims of Spain, on the grounds of discovery, prior to 1790, as futile and visionary, and inferior to those of Great Britain on the same grounds, they maintained that all arguments and pretensions of either of those powers, whether resting on discovery or on any other consideration, were definitively set at rest by the Nootka convention, after the signature of which, the title was no longer to be traced in vague discoveries, several of them admitted to be apocryphal, but in the text and stipulations of that convention itself; and that, as the Nootka convention applied to all parts of the north-west coast of America not occupied, in 1790, by either of the parties, it of course included any portion of Louisiana which might then have extended, on the Pacific, north of the northernmost Spanish settlement, and which could not, therefore, be claimed by the United States, in virtue of the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to that republic, in 1803.

Having assumed this ground, it was scarcely necessary for the British plenipotentiaries to go further into the examination of the titles of the United States; and they probably acted on this supposition, as it is otherwise impossible to account for the gross misstatements with regard to the discoveries of the Americans, the extravagant and unfounded assumptions, and the illogical deductions, in the document presented by them to Mr. Gallatin, on the part of their government. Thus, with regard to the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, they insisted that "Mr. Meares, a lieutenant in the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coasts of America," really effected that discovery four years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the river;* though they indeed admitted that "Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, *was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river, a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares*" when he entered the same bay; but that, even supposing the priority of Gray's discovery to be proved, it was of no consequence in the case, as the

* See p. 177.

country in which it was made "falls within the provisions of the convention of 1790." They refused to allow that the claims of the United States are strengthened by the exploration of the country through which the Columbia flows, as performed in 1805-6 by Lewis and Clarke, "because, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years," the agents of the North-West Company had established posts on the northern branch of the river, and were extending them down to its mouth, when they heard of the formation of the American post at that place in 1811.* That the restoration of Astoria, in 1818, conveyed a virtual acknowledgment by Great Britain of the title of the United States to the country in which that post is situated, was also denied, on the ground that letters protesting against such title were, at the time of the restoration, addressed, by members of the British ministry, to British agents in the United States and on the Columbia.† It is needless to add any thing to what has been already said on these points, in order to prove the entire groundlessness of the assertions contained in the British statement with regard to them.

The charters granted by the sovereigns of Great Britain and France, conveying to individuals or companies large tracts of territory in America, were represented, by the British plenipotentiaries, as being nothing "more, in fact, than a cession to the grantee or grantees of whatever rights the grantor might suppose himself to possess, to the exclusion of other subjects of the same nation, — binding and restraining those only who were within the jurisdiction of the grantor, and of no force or validity against the subjects of other states, until recognized by treaty, and thereby becoming a part of international law." The erroneousness of these views is obvious, and was easily demonstrated by Mr. Gallatin, who showed, by reference to the history of British colonization and dominion in America, that the royal grantors of territories in that continent did consider their charters as binding on all, whether their own subjects or not, and with regard to countries first discovered and settled by people of other nations, whenever they were found to be within the limits thus indicated. These facts were cited, not in vindication of the justice of those grants, but merely to prove in what light they had been regarded by Great Britain: and, if the principle thus assumed by that power, and maintained from 1580 to 1782, as relating to Atlantic colonies, were correct, she could not

* See p. 297.

† See p. 310.

deny its application to the United States, now the owners of Louisiana.*

The British plenipotentiaries were, however, clear and explicit as to the intentions of their government, which were declared, at the conclusion of their statement, in terms of moderation and forbearance truly edifying. Great Britain, they assert, claims, *at present*, nothing more than the rights of trade, navigation, and settlement, in the part of the world under consideration, agreeably to the provisions of the Nootka convention, the basis of the law of nations with regard to those territories and waters, under the protection of which many important British interests have grown up; and she admits that the United States have the same rights, but none other, although they have been exercised only in one instance, and not at all since 1813. In the territory between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, are many British posts and settlements, for the trade and supply of which, the free navigation of the Columbia, to and from the sea, is indispensable; the United States possess not a single post or settlement of any kind in that whole region. Great Britain, nevertheless, for the sake of peace and good understanding, agrees to submit to a definitive partition of that territory, giving to the United States the whole division south of the Columbia, and a large tract containing an excellent harbor, north of that river; and, the United States having declined to accede to this proposition, it only remains for Great Britain to maintain and up-

* "This construction does not appear either to have been that intended at the time by the grantors, or to have governed the subsequent conduct of Great Britain. By excepting from the grants, as was generally the case, such lands as were already occupied by the subjects of other civilized nations, it was clearly implied that no other exception was contemplated, and that the grants were intended to include all unoccupied lands within their respective boundaries, to the exclusion of all other persons or nations whatsoever. In point of fact, the whole country drained by the several rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean, the mouths of which were within those charters, has, from Hudson's Bay to Florida, and, it is believed, without exception, been occupied and held by virtue of those charters. Not only has this principle been fully confirmed, but it has been notoriously enforced much beyond the sources of the rivers on which the settlements were formed. The priority of the French settlements on the rivers flowing westwardly from the Alleghany Mountains into the Mississippi was altogether disregarded; and the rights of the Atlantic colonies to extend beyond those mountains, as growing out of the contiguity of territory, and as asserted in the earliest charters, was effectually and successfully enforced."

The American minister might also have cited the charters granted to the Virginia Company by King James I., in 1609 and 1611, in virtue of which, the Dutch settlements on the Hudson River, in a country first discovered, explored, and occupied, under the flag of the United Provinces, were, in 1664, — forty years after the dissolution of the company, — during peace between the two nations, seized by British forces, as being included in the territories conceded to that company.

hold the qualified rights which she now possesses over the whole of the territory in question. "To the interests which British industry and enterprise have created Great Britain owes protection. That protection will be given, both as regards settlement and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the coördinate rights of the United States; it being the earnest desire of the British government, so long as the joint occupancy continues, to regulate its own obligations by the same rule which governs the obligations of any other occupying party." Thus, in 1826, the British government based its claims, with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, entirely on the Nootka convention of 1790, and the acts of occupation by its subjects under that agreement; the abrogation of which, by the war between the parties, in 1796, — ten years before a single spot in those territories had been occupied by a British subject, — has been already so fully demonstrated,* that any further observations would be superfluous.

The proposition of the British plenipotentiaries, with regard to the renewal of the existing arrangement for ten years, was rejected by the president of the United States,† on the grounds — that, so far as it would tend to prevent the Americans from exercising exclusive sovereignty at the mouth of the Columbia River, it would be contrary to their rights, as acknowledged by the treaty of Ghent, and by the restitution of the place agreeably to that treaty; — that the proposed additional provisions do not define, but leave open to disputation, the acts which might be deemed an exercise of exclusive sovereignty; — and that, from the nature of the institutions of the United States, their rights in the territory in question must be protected, and their citizens must be secured in their lawful pursuits, by some species of government, different from that which it has been, or may be, the pleasure of Great Britain to establish there. Mr. Gallatin, on the 24th of May, 1827, communicated to the British commissioners the fact of the rejection of their proposition, and the reasons for it, declaring, at the same time, formally, in obedience to special instructions, that *his government did not hold itself bound hereafter in consequence of any proposal which it had made for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations beyond the Rocky Mountains; but would consider itself at liberty to contend for the full extent of the claims of the United States.*

* See the examinations of this question, at pp. 213, 257, and 318.

† Letter of February 24th, 1827, from the Hon. Henry Clay to Mr. Gallatin.

The British plenipotentiaries, having entered on the protocol of the conferences a declaration with regard to the previous claims and propositions of their government, similar to that made on the part of the United States by Mr. Gallatin, then intimated their readiness to agree to a simple renewal of the terms of the existing arrangement, for ten years from the date of the expiration of the convention of 1818; provided, however, that, in so doing, ~~they~~ should append to the new convention, in some way, a declaration of what they considered to be its true intent, namely, — that *both parties were restricted, during its continuance in force, from exercising, or assuming to themselves the right to exercise, any exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction over the territories mentioned in the agreement.* The objections to this arrangement were nearly as strong as to that which had already been proposed and refused; Mr. Gallatin, however, desired to know what species of acts the British would consider as an exercise of exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction. In reply, he was informed that Great Britain would not complain of the extension, over the regions west of the Rocky Mountains, of the jurisdiction of any territory, *having for its eastern boundary a line within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States; provided* — that no custom-house should be erected, nor any duties or charges on tonnage, merchandise, or commerce, be raised, by either party, in the country west of the Rocky Mountains — that the citizens or subjects of the two powers residing in or resorting to those countries, should be amenable only to the jurisdiction of their own nation respectively — and that no military post should be established by either party in those countries; or, at least, no such post as would command the navigation of the Columbia or any of its branches.

To the first of these conditions, Mr. Gallatin saw no strong reason to object. With regard to the second, he considered it indispensable that the respective jurisdiction of the courts of justice should be determined by positive compact, as it would scarcely be possible otherwise to prevent collisions; and upon the third condition, he believed it would be very difficult to arrive at a correct understanding, as the British government would not admit the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company to be military establishments. On all these points, the two governments might afterwards negotiate; but the American minister refused to assent to any declaration or explanation whatsoever respecting the terms under which the territories in question were to remain open to the people of the two

countries; and the British were equally resolved not to agree to a renewal of the engagement for a *fixed* period of time, without such a declaration.

Finally, on the 6th of August, 1827, a convention was signed by the plenipotentiaries, to the effect, that the provisions of the third article of the convention of October 20th, 1818,—rendering *all the territories claimed by Great Britain or by the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations for ten years*,—should be further extended for an indefinite period; either party being, however, at liberty to annul and abrogate the agreement, on giving a year's notice of its intention to the other.* This convention was submitted to the Senate of the United States in the following winter, and, having been approved by that body, it was immediately ratified.

In relating the circumstances connected with the adoption of the convention of October, 1818, the opinion was expressed, that it was perhaps the most wise, as well as most just, arrangement which could then have been made; and this renewal of the arrangement for an indefinite period, leaving each of the parties at liberty to abrogate it, after a reasonable notice to the other, appears to merit the same commendation. No unworthy concession was made, no loss of dignity or right was sustained, on either side; and to break the amicable and mutually profitable relations, then subsisting between the two countries, on a question of mere title to the possession of territories from which neither could derive any immediate benefit of consequence, would have been impolitic and unrighteous. The advantages of the convention were, in 1827, as in 1818, nearly equal to both nations; but the difference was, on the whole, in favor of the United States. The British might, indeed, derive more profit from the fur trade as carried on by their organized Hudson's Bay Company, than the Americans could expect to obtain by the individual efforts of their citizens; but the value of that trade is much less than is generally supposed: no settlements could be formed in the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, by which it could acquire a *population*, while the arrangement subsisted; and the facilities for occupying the territory at a future period, when its occupation by the United States should become expedient, would undoubtedly have increased in a far greater ratio on their part than on that of Great Britain. For the difficulties which must arise

* Proofs and Illustrations, letter I, No. 6.

whenever the convention is abrogated, even agreeably to the manner therein stipulated, it became, of course, the duty of each government to provide in time.

In the session of Congress following that in which the new convention with Great Britain had been approved, the subject of the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia River was again discussed; and, after a long series of debates, in which the most eminent members of the House of Representatives took part, a bill was reported, whereby the president was authorized to cause the territory west of the Rocky Mountains to be explored, and forts and garrisons to be established in any proper places, between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees 40 minutes; and also to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over those countries, as regards citizens of the Union. The adoption of these measures was urged, on the ground that it was the duty of the government to make good, by occupation, the right of the United States, which was pronounced unquestionable, lest, by neglect, the country should fall irrevocably into the possession of another power, which had unjustly contested that right: and, as inducements to pursue this course, pictures most flattering were presented of the soil, climate, and productions, of the regions watered by the Columbia, and of the various advantages which would be secured to the citizens of the Union engaged in the trade of the Pacific Ocean, by the settlement of those coasts. The bill was opposed, as infringing the convention recently concluded with Great Britain; in addition to which, it was contended, that, were all opposition on the part of that or other powers removed, and the right of the United States established and universally recognized, the occupation of the countries in question in the manner proposed, would be useless, from their extreme barrenness, from the dangers to navigation presented by their coasts, and from the difficulty of communicating with them either by sea or by land; and such occupation might be injurious, as citizens of the United States would be thus induced to settle in those countries, and their government would find itself bound to protect and maintain them, at great expense, without a commensurate advancement of the public good. In the course of the debates, several amendments were proposed to the bill, but it was finally rejected on the 9th of January, 1829; and, for many years afterwards, very little attention was bestowed, by any branch of the government of the United States, to matters connected with the territories west of the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER XVII.

1823 to 1844

Few Citizens of the United States in the Countries west of the Rocky Mountains between 1813 and 1823 — Trading Expeditions of Ashley, Sublette, Smith, Pilcher, Pattie, Bonneville, and Wyeth — Missionaries from the United States form Establishments on the Columbia — First Printing Press set up in Oregon — Opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Americans; how exerted — Controversy between the United States and Russia — Dispute between the Hudson's Bay and the Russian American Companies; how terminated — California; Capture of Monterey by Commodore Jones — The Sandwich Islands; Proceedings of the Missionaries; Expulsion of the Catholic Priests, and their Reinstatement by a French Force — The Sandwich Islands temporarily occupied by the British.

It has already been said, that, during the ten years immediately following the dissolution of the Pacific Fur Company, and the seizure of its establishments on the Columbia by the British, few, if any, citizens of the United States entered the countries west of the Rocky Mountains; although, within that period, the facilities for communication between those countries and the settled portions of the American Union had been increased by the introduction of steam vessels on the Mississippi and its tributary rivers. Nearly all the trade of the regions of the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri was then carried on by the old North American Fur Company, at the head of which Mr. Astor still remained; and by another association, called the Columbia Fur Company, formed in 1822, composed principally of persons who had been in the service of the North-West Company, and were dissatisfied with their new masters. The Columbia Company established several posts on the upper waters of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Yellowstone, which were, however, transferred to the North American Company, on the junction of the two bodies in 1826. The Americans had also begun to trade with the northernmost provinces of Mexico, before the overthrow of the Spanish authority in that country; after which event, large caravans passed regularly, in each summer, between St. Louis and Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, on the headwaters of the River Bravo del Norté.

The first attempt to reëstablish commercial communications between the United States and the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, was made by W. H. Ashley, of St. Louis, who had been, for some time previous, engaged in the fur trade of the Missouri and Yellowstone countries. He quitted the state of Missouri in the spring of 1823, at the head of a large party of men, with horses carrying merchandise and baggage, and proceeded up the Platte River, to the sources of its northern branch, called the *Sweet Water*, which had not been previously explored. These sources were found to be situated in a remarkable valley, or cleft, in the Rocky Mountains, in the latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes; and immediately beyond them were discovered those of another stream, flowing south-westward, called by the Indians *Sidskadee*, and by the Americans *Green River*, which proved to be one of the headwaters of the Colorado of California. In the country about these streams, which had not then been frequented by the British traders, Mr. Ashley passed the summer, with his men, employed in trapping, and in bartering goods for skins with the natives; and, before the end of the year, he brought back to St. Louis a large and valuable stock of furs.

In 1824, Mr. Ashley made another expedition up the Platte, and through the cleft in the mountains, which has since been generally called the *Southern Pass*; and then, advancing farther west, he reached a great collection of salt water called the *Utah Lake*, (probably the Lake Timpanogos, or Lake Tegayo, of the old Spanish maps,) which lies imbosomed among lofty mountains, between the 40th and the 42d parallels of latitude. Near this lake, on the south-east, he found another and smaller one, to which he gave his own name; and there he built a fort, or trading post, in which he left about a hundred men, when he returned to Missouri in the autumn. Two years afterwards, a six-pound cannon was drawn from Missouri to this fort, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles; and, in 1828, many wagons, heavily laden, performed the same journey.

During the three years between 1824 and 1827, the men left by Mr. Ashley in the country beyond the Rocky Mountains collected and sent to St. Louis furs to the value of more than one hundred and eighty thousand dollars; this enterprising man then retired from the trade, and sold all his interests and establishments to the Rocky Mountain Company, at the head of which were Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, persons not less energetic and determined.

These traders carried on for many years an extensive and profitable business, in the course of which they traversed every part of the country about the southern branch of the Columbia, and nearly the whole of continental California. Unfortunately, however, they made no astronomical observations, and, being unacquainted with any branch of physical science, very little information has been derived through their means. Smith, after twice crossing the continent to the Pacific, was murdered, in the summer of 1829, by the Indians north-west of the Utah Lake.

These active proceedings of the Missouri fur traders roused the spirit of the North American Company, which also extended its operations beyond the Rocky Mountains, though no establishments were formed by its agents in those countries; and many expeditions were made, in the same direction, by independent parties, of whose adventures, narratives, more or less exact and interesting, have been published. In 1827, Mr. Pilcher went from Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, with forty-five men, and more than a hundred horses; and, having crossed the great dividing chain of mountains by the Southern Pass, he spent the winter on the Colorado. In the following year, he proceeded to the Lewis River, and thence, northwardly, along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, on their western side, to the Flathead Lake, near the 47th degree of latitude, which he describes as a beautiful sheet of water, formed by the expansion of the Clarke River, in a rich and extensive valley, surrounded by high mountains. There he remained until the spring of 1829, when he descended the Clarke to Fort Colville, an establishment then recently formed by the Hudson's Bay Company, on the northern branch of the Columbia, at its falls; and thence he returned to the United States, through the long and circuitous route of the Upper Columbia, the Athabasca, the Assinaboin, Red River, and the Upper Missouri. The countries thus traversed by Mr. Pilcher have all become comparatively well known from the accounts of subsequent travellers; but very little information had been given to the world respecting them before the publication of his concise narrative.* The account of the rambles of J. O. Pattie, a Missouri fur trader, through New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, and California, published in 1832, throws some light on the geography of parts of those countries of which little can as yet be learned from any other source. During his peregrinations, Pattie several times crossed the great dividing chain of mountains between New Mexico on the

* Published with President Jackson's message to Congress, January 23d, 1829.

east, and Sonora and California on the west, and descended and ascended the Colorado, and its principal tributaries, which he describes as being navigable by boats for considerable distances. He also made trips across Sonora to the Californian Gulf, and across California to the Pacific, as well as through the Mexican provinces on the coasts of that ocean, where he suffered imprisonment and many other hardships from the tyranny of the authorities.

In 1832, Captain Bonneville, of the army of the United States, while on furlough, led a band of more than a hundred men, with twenty wagons, and many horses and mules, carrying merchandise from Missouri to the countries of the Colorado and the Columbia, in which he passed more than two years, engaged in hunting, trapping, and trading.*

About the same time, Captain Wyeth, of Massachusetts, endeavored to establish a regular system of commercial intercourse between the states of the Union and the countries of the Columbia, to which latter the general name of OREGON then began to be universally applied in the United States. His plan, like that devised by Mr. Astor in 1810, was to send manufactured goods to the Pacific countries, and from thence to transport to the United States, and even to China, not only furs, but also the salmon which abound in the rivers of North-Western America. With these objects, he made two expeditions over land to the Columbia, in the latter of which he founded a trading post, called *Fort Hall*, on the south side of the Snake or Lewis branch of that river, at the entrance of the Portneuf, about a hundred miles north of the Utah Lake; and he then established another post, principally for fishing purposes, on Wappatoo Island, near the confluence of the Willamet River with the Columbia, a hundred miles above the mouth of the latter. This scheme, however, failed entirely. The Hudson's Bay Company's agents immediately took the alarm, and founded a counter establishment, called *Fort Boisé*, at the entrance of the *Boisé* or *Read's River* into the Lewis, some distance below Fort Hall, where they offered goods to the Indians at prices much lower than those which the Americans could afford to take; and Wyeth, being thus driven out of the market, was forced to compromise with his opponents, by selling his fort to them, and engaging to desist from the

* The narrative of this expedition, written from the notes of Captain Bonneville, by Washington Irving, in the vein, half serious, half jocose, of Fray Agapida's Chronicle, contains some curious, though generally overcharged, pictures of life among the hunters, trappers, traders, Indians, and grisly bears, of the Rocky Mountains; but it adds very little to our knowledge of the geography of those regions.

fur trade. Meanwhile, a brig, which he had ~~des~~patched from Boston, with a cargo of goods, arrived at Wappatoo Island, where she, after some further arrangements with the Hudson's Bay Company, took in a cargo of salted salmon, for the United States. She reached Boston in safety; but the results of her voyage were not such as to encourage perseverance in the enterprise, which was thereupon abandoned.*

The American traders, being excluded by these and other means from the Columbia countries, confined themselves almost entirely to the regions about the head-waters of the Colorado and the Utah Lake, where they formed one or two small establishments; though they sometimes extended their rambles westward to the Sacramento, the Bay of San Francisco, and Monterey, where they were viewed with dislike and mistrust by the Mexican authorities. The number of citizens of the United States thus employed in the country west of the Rocky Mountains seldom, if ever, exceeded two hundred: during the greater part of the year, they roved through the wilds, in search of furs, which they carried, in the summer, to certain places of rendezvous on the Colorado, or on the Lewis, and there disposed of them to the traders from Missouri; the whole business being conducted by barter, and without the use of money, though each article bore a nominal value, expressed in dollars and cents, very different from that assigned to it in the states of the Union.†

About the time of Wyeth's expeditions also took place the earliest emigrations from the United States to the territories of the Columbia, for the purpose of settlement, and without any special commercial objects.

The first of these colonies was founded, in 1834, in the valley of

* Captain Wyeth's expeditions, though unprofitable to himself, have been rendered advantageous to the world at large; for his short memoir on the regions which he visited, printed with the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon territory, in February, 1839, affords more exact and useful information, as to their general geography, climate, soil, and agricultural and commercial capabilities, than any other work yet published. Wyeth's movements are also related incidentally in the account of Bonneville's adventures, and in the interesting *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains, &c.*, by J. K. Townsend, a naturalist of Philadelphia, published in 1839.

† Thus, among the prices current at the rendezvous on Green River, in the summer of 1838, we find whisky at three dollars per pint, gunpowder at six dollars per pint, tobacco at five dollars per pound, dogs (for food) at fifteen dollars each, &c. Twenty dollars were frequently expended in rum and sugar, for a night's carouse, by two or three traders, after the conclusion of a bargain. Under such circumstances, it may be supposed that the price of beaver and muskrat skins was proportionally raised; and that a package, purchased for a hundred dollars on Green River, may have been afterwards sold with profit at St. Louis for twenty.

the Willamet River, in which a few retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company had already established themselves, by permission of that body, and were employed principally in herding cattle. The Americans, who settled there, were mostly Methodists, under the direction of ministers of their sect; and colonies of Presbyterians or Congregationalists were afterwards planted in the Walla-Walla and Spokane countries. In all these places, schools for the education of the natives were opened, and, in 1839, a printing press was set up at Walla-Walla, on which were struck off the first sheets ever printed on the Pacific side of America north of Mexico. The Jesuits of St. Louis then engaged in the labor of converting the Indians, in which they appear, from their own accounts, to have met with extraordinary success; but, according to the customs of that order, they did not attempt to form any settlements.*

The attention of the government of the United States had been, in the mean time, directed to the north-west coasts, especially by the recent refusal of the Russians to allow American vessels to trade on the unoccupied parts north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes. This refusal was based on

* The first body of American emigrants went by sea, under the direction of Messrs. Lee and Shepherd, Methodist ministers, who had already visited those countries; and several other parties of persons of the same sect have since established themselves in the Willamet valley, and near the falls of the great river.

The pioneer of the other Protestant sects was Mr. Samuel Parker, whose journal of his tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, though highly interesting and instructive, would have been much more so, had he confined himself to the results of his own experience, and not wandered into the regions of history, diplomacy, and cosmogony, in all of which he is evidently a stranger. Upon the recommendations of Mr. Parker, Messrs. Spaulding, Gray, and Whitman, were sent out by the Board of Missions, in 1836; and they were followed, in 1838, by Messrs. Walker, Eels, and Smith, all of whom, with their wives, have been since assiduously engaged in their benevolent pursuits among the Indians, chiefly those of the middle regions of Oregon. See the History of the American Board of Commissioners, published at Boston.

Some accounts of the state of these settlements in 1837 may be found in the report of Mr. W. Slacum, who was commissioned by the American government to visit the Columbia countries in that year: this paper, however, which was published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1838, is so vague and inexact in its details, that it is, in most cases, calculated rather to confuse and mislead than to direct.

The Jesuits De Smet, Mengarini, Point, and others, have, since 1840, made several missionary tours through the Columbia countries, in the course of which they baptized some thousands of Indians; they also erected a church at a place near the Kullerspelm Lake, on Clarke's River, where the Blessed Virgin appeared in person to a little Indian boy, "whose youth, piety, and sincerity," say the good fathers, "joined to the nature of the fact which he related, forbade us to doubt the truth of his statement."—*De Smet's Letters*, published at Philadelphia, in 1843, p. 192.

the fact that the period of ten years, fixed by the fourth article of the convention of 1824 between the two nations, during which the vessels of both parties might frequent the bays, creeks, harbors, and other interior waters on the north-west coast, had expired: and the Russian government had chosen to consider that article as the only limitation of its right to exclude American vessels from all parts of the division of the coast on which the United States, by the convention, engaged to form no establishments; disregarding entirely the first article of the same agreement, by which all unoccupied places on the north-west coast were declared free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations. The government of the United States immediately protested against this exclusion; and their plenipotentiaries at St. Petersburg have been instructed to demand its revocation.* To the reasons offered in support of

* See President Van Buren's message to Congress of December 3d, 1838, and the accompanying documents. The letters of Messrs. Wilkins and Dallas, successively plenipotentiaries of the United States at St. Petersburg, relating the particulars of their negotiations with the Russian minister, will be found very interesting, from the luminous views of national rights presented in them. The instructions of Mr. Forsyth, the American secretary of state, to Mr. Dallas, dated November 3d, 1837, are also especially worthy of attention. After repeating the cardinal rule as to the construction of instruments, — that *they should be so construed, if possible, as that every part may stand*, — he proceeds to show that the fourth article of the convention of April, 1824, was to be understood as giving "permission to enter interior bays, &c., at the mouth of which there might be establishments, or the shores of which might be in part, but not wholly, occupied by such establishments; thus providing for a case which would otherwise admit of doubt, as it would be questionable whether the bays, &c., described in it, belonged to the *first* or the *second* article. In no sense," continues Mr. Forsyth, "can it be understood as implying an acknowledgment, on the part of the United States, of the right of Russia to the possession of the coast above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; but it should be taken in connection with the other articles, which have, in fact, no reference whatever to the question of the right of possession of the unoccupied parts of the coast. In a spirit of compromise, and to prevent future collisions or difficulties, it was agreed that no new establishments should be formed by the respective parties north or south of a certain parallel of latitude, after the conclusion of the agreement; but the question of the *right of possession* beyond the existing establishments, as it subsisted previous to, or at the time of, the conclusion of the convention, was left untouched. The United States, in agreeing not to form new establishments north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, made no acknowledgment of the right of Russia to the possession of the territory above that line. If such admission had been made, Russia, by the same construction of the article referred to, must have acknowledged the right of the United States to the territory south of the line. But that Russia did not so understand the article, is conclusively proved by her having entered into a similar agreement in a subsequent treaty (1825) with Great Britain, and having, in fact, acknowledged in that instrument the right of possession of the same territory by Great Britain. The United States can only be considered as acknowledging the right of Russia to acquire, by actual occupation, a just claim to unoccupied lands above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; and even this is a mere matter

this demand, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, Count Nesselrode, did not attempt to offer any reply, contenting himself simply with declaring that his sovereign was not inclined to renew the fourth article, as it afforded the Americans the opportunity of furnishing the natives on the coasts with spirituous liquors and fire-arms; though no case was adduced in support of that assertion. Thus the matter rests; the American traders being excluded from visiting any of the coasts of the Pacific north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, on the ground that those coasts are acknowledged by the United States to belong to Russia, whilst the latter power, by its treaty with Great Britain in 1825, directly denies any rights, on the part of the United States, to the coasts south of that parallel.

The Russian government also refused the same privilege to British vessels after 1835, and moreover opposed by force the exercise of another privilege claimed by the British under the treaty of 1825, namely, that of navigating the rivers flowing from the interior of the continent to the Pacific across the line of boundary therein established. In 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out an expedition for the purpose of establishing a trading post on the large river Stikine, which enters the channel named by Vancouver *Prince Frederick's Sound*, between the main land and one of the islands of the north-west archipelago claimed by Russia, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes. Baron Wrangel, the Russian governor-general, having, however, been informed of the project, erected a block-house and stationed a sloop of war at the mouth of the Stikine; and, on the appearance of the vessel bringing the men and materials for the contemplated establishment, the British were warned not to attempt to pass into the river, and were forced to return to the south. All appeals to the treaty were ineffectual, and the Hudson's Bay Company was obliged to desist from the prosecution of the plan, after having, as asserted on its part, spent more than twenty thousand pounds in fitting out the expedition.

of inference, as the convention of 1824 contains nothing more than a negation of the right of the United States to occupy new points within that limit. Admitting that this inference was in contemplation of the parties to the convention, it cannot follow that the United States ever intended to abandon the just right, acknowledged by the first article to belong to them, under the law of nations; that is, to frequent any part of the unoccupied coast of North America, for the purpose of fishing or trading with the natives. All that the convention admits is, an inference of the right of Russia to acquire possession by settlement north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes north; and, until that possession is taken, the first article of the convention acknowledges the right of the United States to fish and trade, as prior to its negotiation."

The British government immediately demanded satisfaction, from that of Russia, for this infraction of the treaty; and, after some time spent in negotiation between the two powers, and between the two companies, it was agreed that the part of the continental coast extending from the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, northward, to Cape Spenser, near the 58th degree, which was assigned to Russia by the treaty of 1825, should be leased, by the Russian American Company, to the Hudson's Bay Company, for ten years from the 1st of June, 1840, at an annual rent, to be paid in fur. The difficulty was thus ended, to the advantage of all parties; the British gaining access to a long line of coast, without which the adjoining territories of the interior would have been useless, while the Russians derive a much greater amount from the rent than they could have otherwise drawn from the coast.

The charter of the Russian American Company was renewed, in 1839, for twenty years, without any modifications worthy of note. The company was then in a prosperous condition; its operations were daily extending, and the value of its stock was constantly increasing.

The license, granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821, to trade, in exclusion of all other British subjects, in the countries owned or claimed by Great Britain, north and west of Canada and the United States, expired in 1840; but another license, containing some new and important provisions, had been accorded by the government, on the 30th of May, 1838.* Thus the company was bound, under heavy penalties, to enforce the due execution of criminal processes, by the officers and other persons legally empowered, in all its territories, and to make and submit to the government such rules and regulations, for the trade with the Indians, as should be effectual to promote their moral and religious improvement, and especially to prevent the sale and distribution of spirituous liquors among them. It is moreover declared, in the grant, that nothing therein contained should authorize the company to claim the right of trade in any part of America, to the prejudice or exclusion of the people of "any foreign states" who may be entitled to trade there, in virtue of conventions between such states and Great Britain; and the government reserves to itself the right to establish any colony or province within the territories included in the grant, or to annex any portion of those territories to any existing colony or province, and to apply to such colony any form of civil govern-

* See both the licenses in the Proofs and Illustrations, letter I.

ment, independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, which might be deemed proper. Whether this last provision was introduced with some special and immediate object, or with a view to future contingencies, no means have as yet been afforded for determining. The British government, however, insisted strongly on retaining the above-mentioned privileges; and it is most probable that the Columbia countries were in view at the time, as the remainder of the territory included in the grant, and not possessed by the company in virtue of the charter of 1669, is of little value in any way.

In California, few events worthy of note occurred during the whole period of fifty years, from the first establishment of Spanish colonies and garrisons on the west coasts of that country, to the termination of the revolutionary struggle between Spain and Mexico. Before the commencement of the disturbances, the missions were, to a certain extent, fostered by the Spanish government, and supplies of money and goods were sent to them, with regularity, from Acapulco and San Blas; but, after the revolution broke out, these remittances were reduced, the missionaries lost their influence over the natives, and the establishments fell into decay. Upon the overthrow of the Spanish power, in 1822, California was divided politically into two *territories*, of which the peninsula formed one, called *Lower California*; the other, or *Upper California*, embracing the whole of the continental portion. By the constitution of 1824, each of these territories became entitled to send one member to the National Congress; and, by subsequent decrees, all the adult Indians, who could be considered as civilized or capable of reasoning, (*gente de razon*,) were freed from submission to their former pastors, had lands assigned to them, and were declared citizens of the republic. These seeming boons were, however, accompanied by the withdrawal of nearly all the allowances previously made for the establishments, and by the imposition of taxes and duties on all imports, including those from Mexico. The authority of the missionaries thus dwindled away, and those who had been long in the country either returned to Mexico or Spain, or escaped to other lands: the cultivation of the mission farms was abandoned, and the Indians, freed from restraint, relapsed into barbarism, or sunk into the lowest state of indolence and vice.

Whilst the number of civilized Indians in California was by these measures diminished, the white population was at the same time somewhat increased. Immediately after, and indeed before, the

overthrow of the Spanish authority in that country, its ports became the resort of foreigners, especially of the whalers and traders of the United States, who offered coarse manufactured articles and groceries in exchange for provisions, and for the hides and tallow of the wild cattle abounding in the country. This trade was at first carried on in the same irregular manner as the fur trade with the Indians on the coasts farther north; as it increased, however, it became more systematized, and mercantile houses were established in the principal ports. The majority of the merchants were foreigners, English, French, or Americans: in their train came shop and tavern-keepers, and artisans, from various countries; and to these were added deserting seamen and stragglers from the Missouri and the Columbia.

This state of things was by no means satisfactory to the Mexican government; and orders were given to the commandant-general of Upper California to enforce the laws prohibiting foreigners from entering or residing in the Mexican territories without special permission from the authorities. Agreeably to these orders, a number of American citizens were, in 1828, seized at San Diego, and kept in confinement until 1830, when an insurrection broke out, headed by a General Solis, which they were instrumental in subduing; and, in consideration of their services, they were allowed to quit the country. The trading expeditions of Ashley and Smith, of which accounts have been already presented, at the same time gave great uneasiness to the Mexican government, and were made the subjects of formal complaints to that of the United States.

These circumstances, with others of the same nature then occurring in Texas, served to delay the conclusion of treaties of limits, and of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Mexico; which were, however, at length signed and ratified, so as to become effective in 1832. By the treaty of limits, the line of boundary from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, which was settled between the United States and Spain in 1819, was adopted as separating the territories of the United States on the north from those of Mexico on the south; and the latter power accordingly claims as its own the whole territory west of the great dividing chain of mountains, as far north as the 42d parallel of latitude.

The Mexican government likewise endeavored to prevent the evils anticipated from the presence of so many foreigners in California, by founding new colonies of its own citizens in that country. Criminals were to be transported thither; but although many were

thus sentenced, few, if any, ever reached the place of their destination. A number of persons, of various trades and professions, were also sent out from Mexico in 1834, to be located on the lands of the missions in California ; but, ere they reached those places, the administration by which the scheme was devised, had been overthrown, and the new authorities, entertaining different views, *ordered the settlers to be driven back to their native land.*

These new authorities — that is to say, General Santa Anna and his partisans — determined to remodel the constitution, under which Mexico had been governed, as a federal republic, since 1824. What other form was to have been introduced in its stead, is not known ; for, in the spring of 1836, at the moment when the change was about to be made, Santa Anna was defeated and taken prisoner by the Texans at San Jacinto. Those who succeeded to the helm being, however, no less averse to the federal system, it was abolished in the latter part of the same year, and a constitution was adopted, by which the powers of government were placed almost entirely in the hands of the general congress and executive, all *state rights* being destroyed. This central system was opposed in many parts of the republic, and nowhere more strenuously than in California, where the people rose in a body, expelled the Mexican officers, and declared that their country should remain independent until the federal constitution were restored. The general government, on receiving the news of these proceedings, issued strong proclamations against the insurgents, and ordered an expedition to be prepared for the purpose of reëstablishing its authority in the revolted territory ; but General Urrea, to whom the execution of this order was committed, soon after declared in favor of the federalists, and the Californians were allowed to govern themselves as they chose for some months, at the end of which, in July, 1837, their patriotic enthusiasm subsided, and they voluntarily swore allegiance to the new constitution.

Since that time, the quiet course of things in California has, so far as known, been disturbed by only one occurrence worthy of being mentioned ; namely, the capture and temporary occupation of Monterey by the naval forces of the United States, under Commodore T. A. C. Jones, of which the following brief account will suffice. This officer, while cruising on the South American coast of the Pacific, received information which led him to believe that Mexico had, agreeably to a menace shortly before uttered by her government, declared war against the United States ; and, being determined

to strike a blow at the supposed enemy, he sailed, with his frigate, the *United States*, and the sloop of war *Cyane*, to Monterey, where he arrived on the 19th of October, 1842. . Having disposed his vessels in front of the little town, he sent an officer ashore, to demand the surrender "of the castle, posts, and military places, with all troops, arms, and munitions of war of every class," in default of which, the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war would be the immediate consequence. The commandant of the place, astounded by such a demand, made in a time of profound peace, summoned his officers to a council, in which it was decided that no defence could be made: he therefore submitted without delay, and the flag of the United States replaced that of Mexico over all the public edifices; the fortifications were garrisoned by American soldiers, and the commodore issued a proclamation to the Californians, inviting them to submit to the government of the federal republic, which would protect and insure to them the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and all other privileges of freemen. Scarcely, however, was this proclamation sent forth, ere the commodore received advices which convinced him that he had been in error, and that the peace between his country and Mexico remained unbroken; he had, therefore, only to restore the place to its former possessors, and to retire with all his forces to his ships, which was done on the 21st of the month, twenty-four hours after the surrender. Thus ended an affair, the effects of which have been unfortunately to increase the irritation already existing in Mexico against the United States, and to render less easy the adjustment of the differences between the two nations. The armed force in California has since been considerably augmented; but it is evident that all the efforts of Mexico would be unavailing to retain those distant possessions, in the event of a war with a powerful maritime state.

In the Sandwich Islands, a complete change has taken place since the death of Tamahamaha. His son and successor, Riho Riho, died, in 1824, in London, whither he had gone, with his queen, to visit his brother sovereign of Great Britain; and he was himself succeeded by Kauikeaouli, another reputed son of the great Tamahamaha, who now fills the throne, under the name of Kamehamaha III. These changes were all advantageous to the missionaries from the United States, many of whom were domiciliated in the islands; particularly after the conversion of Krymakoo, or Billy Pitt, the old prime minister, and of Kaahumanu, the widow of the great Tamahamaha, who, after passing half a century in the con-

stant practice of the most beastly sensuality, embraced Christianity in her old age, and became a zealous and efficient protector of its professors.* Boki, the brother of Krymakoo, a powerful chief, who had accompanied Riho Riho to England, and, on his return, endeavored to obtain the sovereignty of the islands, proved very refractory and annoying to the missionaries, alternately cooperating with them, or setting them at defiance, according to the dictates of his ambition.†

After the death of Riho Riho, Kaahumanu, first, and then Kinau one of the widows of the late king, conducted the government as regents, until 1834, when the young sovereign threw off all restraints, and, taking the reins into his own hands, determined to enjoy life like other legitimate princes. Feasting and dancing in the old style were again seen in the palace; drinking shops were opened, distilleries were set up, and other ancient immoralities reappeared, under the immediate patronage of the court. But the church had become a part of the state. The chiefs were all nominally Christians; the missionaries exerted themselves to stem the torrent, and they succeeded. The king was obliged to yield; the shops and distilleries were successively closed, and order and decency resumed their reign.

The ill success of this attempt, on the part of the king, to free himself from the trammels imposed by the missionaries, of course increased their power; which they exerted with energy, and gen-

* Krymakoo died in 1825, and Kaahumanu in 1832; the exemplary manner in which they took leave of the pomps and vanities of life is minutely described in the History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, pp. 175 and 230.

† Boki, having been disappointed in his hopes of attaining the sovereignty of his country, sailed, in 1829, with a number of followers, in two vessels, in search of some new islands, covered with sandal-wood, which were said to have been discovered in the south-west. One of the vessels returned to Woahoo; of the other, in which Boki commanded in person, nothing has been since heard, except some rumors that she was blown up.

The London Quarterly Review for March, 1827, contains a letter purporting to have been written by Boki, at Woahoo, to a friend in London, expressing considerable dissatisfaction with the conduct of the American missionaries, which has given those worthy persons much uneasiness, and has caused them to expend much more of virtuous indignation and serious argument, in refuting the charges, than it deserved. The letter is an exquisite *morceau* of orthography and style, and should find a place in the Comic Almanac. See the History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, p. 176, and Mr. C. S. Stewart's narrative of his residence in the Sandwich Islands, p. 342. The latter work will amply repay the reader for the time which he may devote to it; not only from the information afforded respecting the islands, but also as exhibiting, in the most interesting manner, the workings of a pure and enthusiastic mind.

erally with discretion, for the benefit of the community. They employed every means to keep the chiefs in what they considered the right path, and to conciliate the young. Schools were opened wherever scholars could be found; and the Bible, in the language of the islands, was placed in the hands of all who could read it. Laws restraining drunkenness and other vices were proposed to the government and adopted: in 1838, the importation of spirituous liquors was prohibited; and, in 1840, a written constitution, also the work of the missionaries, exhibiting much wisdom and knowledge of the world on their part, was subscribed by the king and his principal nobles.

In these endeavors to raise a barbarous people to civilization, and to place their country among Christian states, the American missionaries were constantly opposed and thwarted by their own fellow-citizens and the subjects of other nations, who resorted to the islands for the purposes of trade, or of refreshment, after long and dangerous voyages. The precepts of a religion enjoining self-denial in all things could not find favor among such persons; to whom its apostles became objects of hatred, as the destroyers of all their pleasures. Bickerings took place between the two parties: the missionaries were assaulted with sticks, and stones, and knives, all which they fearlessly confronted, rather than yield a foot of the ground already occupied; and the young king was daily subjected to complaints from sea captains and consuls on the one side, and to remonstrances from his spiritual advisers on the other. That the latter carried their restrictions too far, considering the circumstances, there is reason to believe; for, though no defence can be made for the practices which they reprobated, yet many of them can never be prevented by means compatible with the enjoyment of civil liberty; and it may be neither prudent nor just to set a mark on all who are guilty of them.

The American missionaries had to encounter greater difficulties from a different source. Other laborers entered the vineyard. In 1827, two Roman Catholic priests, Messrs. Short, an Irishman, and Bachelot, a Frenchman, arrived in the islands, and engaged in the conversion of the natives to their form of Christianity. They were, of course, regarded with unfriendly eyes by the Protestants, and particularly by the pious regent Kaahumanu, to whose faction they were opposed; and, through her influence, they were at length, in 1831, expelled from the islands, on the grounds that they were idolaters, and worshipped the bones of dead men. A

chapel and school were, nevertheless, soon after opened at Honolulu, by another Catholic priest, named Walsh; and, in 1838, Kaa-humanu being dead, Messrs. Bachelot and Short ventured to return to the islands, from California, where they had passed the greater part of the time, since their expulsion. They were again ordered by the government to take their departure; and, on their refusal, were forcibly put on board the vessel which brought them, and thus sent away, notwithstanding the protests made by the consuls of the United States and Great Britain, on the part of the owners of the vessel, and by the commanders of a British and a French ship of war, which arrived at the time in the islands. That the Protestant missionaries were the instigators of this proceeding, has been asserted, though it is denied by their friends; that they might, if they chose, have prevented it, there can, however, be as little doubt, as that they should have done so, if it were in their power.

For this act, which, besides being entirely at variance with the constant principle of Protestantism, and the spirit of toleration now so happily pervading the world, indicated extreme ignorance, and culpable disregard of consequences, on the part of those who directed it, a severe retribution was soon after exacted. On the 9th of July, 1839, the French frigate *Artemise* arrived at Honolulu, and her captain, Laplace, immediately demanded reparation for the insult offered to his country and its national religion; with which object, he required that the Roman Catholic worship should be declared free throughout the islands, and its professors should enjoy all the privileges heretofore granted to Protestants; that the government should give a piece of ground for the erection of a Catholic church; that all Catholics imprisoned on account of their religion should be liberated; and, finally, that, as a security for the performance of these engagements, twenty thousand dollars should be placed, and should remain, in his hands. With these demands the king immediately complied; and, had the French commander contented himself with what he had thus effected, his conduct would have been blameless in the eyes of all unprejudiced men. But he also required and obtained, that the brandy and wines of his country, the introduction of which, as of all other spirituous liquors, was most properly prohibited by law, should be admitted into the islands on paying a duty of not more than five per cent. on their value—an act, considering the relative degrees of civilization of the two parties, far more reprehensible than that for which he had just before obtained atonement

Captain Laplace also thought proper to declare in a circular, that, in case he should attack Honolulu, the American missionaries would not enjoy the protection promised by him to the people of civilized nations; fortunately, however, he had no occasion to carry this threat into execution, as it might have produced a most serious breach of good understanding between his government and that of the United States.

Difficulties about the same time arose between the government of the Sandwich Islands and the British consul; in consequence of which, the king determined to despatch an agent to the United States, Great Britain, and France, in order to obtain, if possible, a distinct recognition of the independence of his dominions by those nations, and to make some definite arrangement for the prevention of difficulties in future. With these objects, Timoteo Haalileo, a young native who had been educated in the school of the missionaries, and had filled several important offices, was selected as the agent; and he was to be accompanied by Mr. W. Richards, one of the American missionaries, who, having distinguished himself, during a long residence in the islands, by his zeal in behalf of the people and their government, had, with the assent of his brethren, entered regularly into the king's service. They arrived in Washington in the winter of 1842, and, upon their application, President Tyler addressed a message to Congress,* in which, after briefly recapitulating the advantages derived by the United States from the Sandwich Islands, as a place of trade and refreshment for vessels in the Pacific, and alluding to the desire manifested by their government to improve the moral and social condition of the people, he declared that any attempt by another power to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government, could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States; and, should such attempt be made, the American government would be justified in remonstrating decidedly against it. An American commissioner was accordingly despatched to the Sandwich Islands, charged to inquire and report as to the propriety of establishing diplomatic relations with their government; and Messrs. Haalileo and Richards, after some time spent in the United States, proceeded to Great Britain and France, where their presence proved ultimately useful in bringing about the peaceful solution of the difficulties which had occasioned their mission.

* Message of December 21st, 1842.

In the mean time, Lord George Paulet, a captain in the British navy, arrived at Woahoo, in February, 1843, in the ship *Carysfort*, and demanded from the king explanations with regard to the conduct of his government towards the consul and subjects of her Britannic majesty. Not receiving a satisfactory answer within the period prescribed, this officer threatened, in the event of longer delay, to make an attack upon Honolulu ; whereupon the king, finding himself unable to comply with the demands, or to resist them, surrendered all the islands under his dominion to Great Britain, until the matter could be arranged between the government of that country and the agents whom he had already sent thither. The British commander accordingly took possession, appointed commissioners to conduct the administration, and issued various regulations for the government of the islands, until further orders could be received from England.

The news of these events created much excitement in the United States ; and a protest against the occupation of the Sandwich Islands by Great Britain was immediately addressed by the American government to the court of London. On the 25th of June, however, the British minister at Washington declared officially, that the acts of Lord George Paulet were entirely unauthorized by her majesty; conformably with which, King Kamehameha was, on the 31st of July, reinstated in all his powers and dignities by Admiral Thomas, the commander-in-chief of the British naval forces in the Pacific. Finally, on the 28th of November, a declaration was signed at London, on the parts of the queen of England and the king of the French, whereby their majesties "engaged reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession, either directly, or under the title of protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed."

These acts of the British and the French, with regard to the Sandwich Islands, arose, doubtless, rather from political jealousy, on the parts of those nations, than from the simple desire to protect their subjects in trade or religion. The French have shown their anxiety to obtain a permanent footing on the Pacific, by their attempts to form a colony in New Zealand, by their military occupation of the Washington or North Marquesas Islands and their forcible seizure of Otaheite, and by various other circumstances ; whilst the British have evinced their determination to counteract those efforts by others equally unequivocal. To either of these nations the

Sandwich Islands would prove a most valuable acquisition, as it would afford the means of controlling the trade and fishery of the North Pacific, and of exercising a powerful influence over the destinies of the north-west coasts of America and California. The United States, claiming the north-west coasts, and conducting nearly the whole of the fishery and trade of the North Pacific, are deeply interested in all that may affect the independence of these islands; and, having neither the power nor the will to establish their own authority over them at present, it is the policy and duty of their government to oppose, at almost any hazard, the attempts of other nations to acquire dominion or influence in this important archipelago.

It will be proper here also to notice, as connected with the history and probable destinies of North-West America, the fact of the occupation of the Falkland Islands by Great Britain, in 1833. After the overthrow of the Spanish supremacy in America, these islands were claimed by the government of Buenos Ayres, as having formed part of the territory under the direction of the viceroy of La Plata; and attempts were made by that government to exercise dominion over them, which produced, in 1831, a collision between its authorities and the naval forces of the United States. In the month of January, 1833, the British took possession of the whole group, which they have ever since occupied; and, a representation on the subject having been addressed to that government, by the diplomatic agent of Buenos Ayres at London, Lord Palmerston, the British secretary for foreign affairs, in reply, maintained* the exclusive right of his nation to the islands, on the ground of first discovery and occupation—thus entirely disregarding the sixth article of the Nootka convention of 1790, according to which, no settlement could be made, either by Great Britain or by Spain, on any part of the coasts of South America or the islands adjacent, “situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain,” although his government had, in 1827 supported the subsistence of that convention with respect to the north-west coasts of North America.

In 1841, the Sandwich Islands, and the coasts of Oregon and California, were visited by the exploring ships of the United States, under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, who

* Letter from Lord Palmerston to Señor Moreno, dated January 8th, 1834. See Memoir, historical, political, and descriptive, on the Falkland Islands, by Robert Greenhow, published in the *New York Merchants' Magazine* for February, 1842.

had been specially directed to survey and examine those countries, as carefully as circumstances would permit. Lieutenant Wilkes, in the sloop of war *Vincennes*, arrived off the mouth of the Columbia, on the 27th of April; but, finding it hazardous to attempt the entrance, he sailed to the Strait of Fuca, and anchored in Puget's Sound, near Nasqually, a post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, from which he despatched several surveying parties into the interior. One of these parties crossed the great westernmost range of mountains to the Columbia; and, having visited the British trading posts of Okinagan, Colville, and Walla-Walla, returned to Nasqually. Another party proceeded southward to the Cowelitz, and down that river to the main trunk of the Columbia, which was examined upwards as far as Walla-Walla, and downwards to the ocean. In the mean time, other parties were engaged in surveying the coasts and harbors on the Pacific, the Strait of Fuca, and Admiralty Inlet, and particularly in exploring the valleys of the Willamet River, emptying into the Columbia, and of the Sacramento, falling into the Bay of San Francisco, which are perhaps the most valuable portions of Oregon and California. The performance of these important duties was accompanied by an unfortunate occurrence. The sloop of war *Peacock*, one of the exploring vessels, commanded by Lieut. William L. Hudson, struck on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia, while attempting to enter that river, on the 18th of July, and was lost; her crew, however, in consequence of the perfect discipline maintained on board, were all landed in safety, with her instruments and papers, on Cape Disappointment, where they were received, and treated with the utmost hospitality, by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, residing in the vicinity.*

* The exploring squadron, consisting of the sloops of war *Vincennes* and *Peacock*, store-ship *Relief*, brig *Porpoise*, and schooners *Sea-Gull* and *Flying-Fish*, sailed from the Chesapeake on the 19th of August, 1838, and passed around Cape Horn, where several months were employed in exploring, and, unfortunately, the *Sea-Gull* was lost, with all on board. Lieutenant Wilkes then crossed the Pacific to Australia, south of which, he, in January, 1840, discovered a line of rocky, ice-bound coast, extending nearly under the Antarctic circle, from the 92d to the 165th degrees of longitude east from London; that is, about 1800 miles. Thence he proceeded northward, surveying many groups of islands and intricate channels hitherto imperfectly known, to the coast of Oregon, where he spent the summer of 1841, as above stated; and, having completed his work, he returned, with his vessels, through the India seas, and around the Cape of Good Hope, to the United States, where he arrived in June, 1842. The southernmost point attained was in the Pacific, south-south-west of Cape Horn, in latitude of 70 degrees 14 minutes, that is, farther south than any navigator, except Cook and Weddell had previously penetrated; it was reached on the 24th of March, 1839, by Lieut. W. M. Walker, commanding the *Flying-Fish*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1842 to 1845.

Excitement in the United States respecting Oregon — Bill in the Senate for the immediate Occupation of Oregon — That Bill inconsistent with the Convention of 1827, between the United States and Great Britain — Renewal of Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain — Emigration from the United States to Oregon — State of the Hudson's Bay Company's Possessions — Conclusion.

DURING the latter years of the period to which the preceding chapter relates, the government and people of the United States were becoming seriously interested in the subject of the claims of the republic to countries west of the Rocky Mountains, which had so long remained undetermined. The population of the Union had, in fact, been so much increased, that large numbers of persons were to be found in every part, whose spirit of enterprise and adventure could not be restrained within the limits of the states and organized territories; and, as the adjoining central division of the continent offered no inducements to settlers, those who did not choose to fix their habitations in Texas, began to direct their views towards the valleys of the Columbia, where they expected to obtain rich lands without cost, and security under the flag of the stars and stripes.

The period had, in fact, arrived, when the countries west of the Rocky Mountains were to receive a civilized population from the United States.

This feeling began to manifest itself, about the year 1837, by the formation of societies for emigration to Oregon, in various parts of the Union, and especially in those which had themselves been most recently settled, and were most thinly peopled. From these associations, and from American citizens already established in Oregon, petitions were presented to Congress, as well as resolutions from the legislatures of states,* urging the general government either to settle the questions of right as to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, by definitive arrangement with the other claimant,

* Nearly all these petitions and resolutions came from Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan.

or to take immediate civil and military possession of that country; and bills, having for their object the accomplishment of one or both of these ends, were annually introduced into the Senate or the House of Representatives of the Union. The members of the executive branch of the government, particularly Messrs. Forsyth and Poinsett, the able and energetic secretaries of state and of war, were likewise assiduously engaged in collecting information respecting the nature and grounds of the claims of the United States, and the most effective means of enforcing them, in order that the government might, when necessary, act with vigor and certainty, and be justified before the world. The information thus obtained was, from time to time, published, by order of Congress, for the instruction of the people on points so important; * but no bill relating to Oregon was passed by either house before 1843, nor was any decisive measure on the subject adopted by the American government.

The British government was, meanwhile, not unmindful of its interests in the territories west of the Rocky Mountains. Its views and intentions were not proclaimed to the world annually, in parliamentary speeches or executive reports: but the Admiralty caused the lower part of the Columbia River, the Bay of San Francisco, and the adjacent coasts of the Pacific, to be carefully surveyed, in 1839, by Captain Belcher; † and the Colonial Office, and Board of Trade, were in constant communication with the governor and di-

* Among these documents, the principal are the following, viz.: Report to the Senate, with Maps, and a Bill for the Occupation of Oregon; presented by Mr. Linn, June 6th, 1838 — Reports of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the House of Representatives, respecting the Territory of Oregon, with a Map, presented Jan. 4th and Feb. 16th, 1839, by Mr. Cushing, accompanied by a bill to provide for the protection of the citizens of the United States residing in that territory, or trading on the Columbia River, and various documents in proof — Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-West Coast of North America, and the adjacent Countries, with a Map and a Geographical View of those Countries, by Robert Greenhow, Translator and Librarian to the Department of State; presented Feb. 10th, 1840, by Mr. Linn (see Preface to this History) — Report of the Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, in relation to the establishment of a line of Military Posts from the Missouri River to the Columbia, 1840 — Report of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, on the Subject of the Occupation and Defence of the Columbia Countries; presented by Mr. Pendleton, May 25th, 1842.

† Narrative of a Voyage round the World, performed in her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, during the Years 1836—1842, by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N. This large and expensive work, though very amusing to the general reader, abounds in misstatements and inconsistencies, and contains scarcely a single fact or observation of importance with regard to the different places visited. The results of the scientific investigations, especially the geographical positions of many important points, which were determined, doubtless, with the utmost accuracy during the voyage, are omitted.

rectors of the Hudson's Bay Company, who possessed more exact information, on all subjects connected with North-West America, than could be obtained from any other source. The British government and the Hudson's Bay Company have, indeed, always acted in concert; and the measures devised by them are carried into execution immediately, without previous reference to the legislature. Beyond the limits of the government offices, and of the Hudson's Bay House, no one in England seems to have taken the slightest interest in any thing relating to North-West America.

In the spring of 1842, Lord Ashburton arrived at Washington, as minister extraordinary from Great Britain, with instructions and powers to settle certain questions of difference between the two nations; and it was, at first, generally supposed, in the United States, and, indeed, in Great Britain, that the establishment of boundaries on the Pacific side of America would be one of the objects of his mission. A treaty was, however, concluded, in August of that year, between him and Mr. Webster, the secretary of state of the United States, in which all the undetermined parts of the line separating the territories of the two powers, on the Atlantic side of America, were defined and settled; but no allusion was made to any portion of the continent west of the Rocky Mountains. Whether or not Lord Ashburton was empowered by his government to treat for a settlement of the question at issue respecting the latter territories, no means have yet been afforded for learning. No mention of countries west of the Rocky Mountains is to be found in the published correspondence relative to the negotiation; but the question was discussed by the plenipotentiaries, as declared in the following passage of President Tyler's message to Congress, at the opening of the session, on the 7th of December, 1842: "In advance of the acquisition of individual rights to these lands, [west of the Rocky Mountains,] sound policy dictates that every effort should be resorted to, by the two governments, to settle their respective claims. It became evident, at an early hour of the late negotiations, that any attempt, for the time being, satisfactorily to determine those rights, would lead to a protracted discussion, which might embrace in its failure other more pressing matters; and the executive did not regard it as proper to waive all the advantages of an honorable adjustment of other difficulties, of great magnitude and importance, because this, not so immediately pressing, stood in the way. Although the difficulties referred to may not, for several years to come, involve the peace of the two

countries, yet I shall not delay to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement." The treaty was ratified and definitively confirmed by both governments; the exclusion of the Oregon question from it, however, increased the excitement respecting that country in the United States, and an excitement on the same subject was soon after created in Great Britain.

The part of the president's message above quoted was referred to the committees on foreign affairs in both houses of Congress; and, a few days afterwards, Mr. Linn, one of the senators from Missouri, who had always displayed the strongest interest with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and had assiduously endeavored to effect their incorporation into the republic, brought a bill into the Senate for the occupation and settlement of the territory of Oregon, and for extending the laws of the United States over it. This bill proposed that the president cause to be erected, at suitable places and distances, a line of forts, not exceeding five in number, from points on the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers, to the best pass for entering the valley of the Columbia, and also at or near the mouth of that river; that six hundred and forty acres of land be granted to every white male inhabitant of Oregon, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, who shall cultivate and use them for five years, or to his heirs at law, in case of his decease, with an addition of one hundred and sixty acres for his wife, and the same for each of his children under the age of eighteen years; that the jurisdiction of the courts of Iowa be extended over the countries stretching from that territory, and from the states of Missouri and Arkansas, to the Rocky Mountains, and over all countries west of those mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels; and that justices of the peace be appointed for those countries, as now provided by law for Iowa, who shall have power to arrest and commit for trial all offenders against the laws of the United States; *provided* that any subject of Great Britain, who may have been so arrested for crimes or misdemeanors committed in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, while they remain free and open to the people of both nations, shall be delivered up to the nearest or most convenient British authorities, to be tried according to British laws.

This bill, it will be seen, contained nearly the same provisions as that which had been discussed in the House of Representatives in the session of 1828-29,* with the addition of the promise of grants

* See p. 355.

of land to the settlers, after a certain period of occupancy. It was defended, generally, on the grounds that its adoption would be the exercise, by the United States, of rights which were unquestionable, and had been long unjustly withheld from them by Great Britain; and that, taking this for granted, it afforded the best means, in all respects, of making good those rights, and securing to the republic the ultimate possession of the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, which must otherwise fall, or rather remain, irretrievably, in the hands of another power. The opponents to the bill differed in their views of its various provisions: many were averse to any action whatsoever on the subject at that time, while others considered the measures recommended as impolitic, expensive, and by no means calculated to attain the end proposed; but they were unanimous in opinion that the cession of lands in Oregon to American citizens would be an infraction of the convention of 1827 with Great Britain, and could not, therefore, be legally made until that agreement had been rescinded in the manner therein stipulated. In this, as in the other provisions of the bill, however, its advocates were unwilling to make any material change, regarding them all as essential to the objects in view.

Mr. Linn, as the proposer of the bill, explained and defended each of its provisions, on the grounds of their justice, of their compatibility with the existing diplomatic arrangements, and of their efficiency for the attainment of the end in view, namely, the possession of these extensive and valuable territories by the United States, to which they belong of right. After recapitulating the various grounds of that right, he contended that the United States had been deprived of the privileges of the joint occupancy, secured to them in the convention of 1827, by the encroachments of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, under the direct protection of the British government, had taken actual possession of the whole territory beyond the Rocky Mountains. Great Britain, he insisted, was there employing the same policy and mechanism, of a great trading company, by means of which she had made her way to the dominion of India; she already practically occupied all that she ever claimed south and north of the Columbia; her agents had directly avowed that she would not give up the establishments which she had encouraged her subjects to form there; and, as a further proof of her intentions, the Hudson's Bay Company had, within a few years, founded farming settlements on an extensive scale, from which large exports of provisions are made to the Russian posts

and the Sandwich Islands. The bill proposed does not pretend to define the territory of the United States, or to dispossess Great Britain of what she now holds, but merely to do what she has herself done. Can that power object to proceedings, on the part of the United States, similar to her own? She has extended her jurisdiction over Oregon, has built forts, and set up farming and other establishments. Why cannot the Americans do the same?

Mr. Morehead supported the same views. Examining the convention of 1827, he conceived that it provided only for temporary occupation; but that the felling of forests, the construction of regular habitations, the fencing in of fields, the regular improvement of the soil, the fitting up of mills and workshops, and, added to all these, the erection of forts to protect them, as had been done by the British, in Oregon, meant something more; and were intended to constitute a lasting, and, of course, exclusive occupation of the places thus appropriated. Now, these are not merely the acts of the Hudson's Bay Company; they are done under the sanction of the British government, and they form the system adopted every where, by that government, for territorial encroachment, especially against nations capable of resisting attack.

Mr. Woodbury took a view somewhat different of the bearing of the convention of 1827, which he regarded as leaving to each party the right to settle, provided the trade were left free to both; in support of which construction, he cited the declarations of the British ministers, during the negotiations on that subject, and the stipulations proposed by them, that "neither party should assume or exercise any right of sovereignty or dominion over any part of the country," and that "no settlement then existing, or which might in future be made, should ever be adduced, by either party, in support or furtherance of such claims of sovereignty or dominion." For these reasons, and others which he presented, and supported by powerful arguments, he considered that the bill should pass, and that the United States should no longer hesitate to exercise rights which Great Britain did not scruple to exercise herself.

Mr. Phelps concurred with Mr. Woodbury in his construction of the convention of 1827, which, he conceived, would not be violated by the section of the bill providing for grants of land to settlers. The grants proposed are but prospective. Citizens of the United States are invited to settle in Oregon, and, after having resided there five years, certain portions of land are to be secured to them. Within those five years, the questions of right

to the territory will have been determined, and if those who have acted on the faith of the invitation do not then receive the advantages promised, their government will, of course, be bound to indemnify them.

Mr. McRoberts dwelt particularly on the importance of the convention of 1790, between Great Britain and Spain; the fifth article of which, according to his construction, assured to Spain the sovereignty of all the coasts south of Nootka Sound.

Mr. Henderson considered the bill of no value, without the clause for the appropriation of lands. He regarded the act of the British Parliament, extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Canada over Oregon, as taking possession of the country. The United States must do the same; on their taking the measure now proposed, a conflict of jurisdictions would ensue, which must at once compel the adjustment of the question of right.

Mr. Huntingdon, though firmly convinced of the rights of the United States to the territory in question, and of the propriety of making them good so soon as possible, could not but consider the bill as an infringement of the existing convention with Great Britain. The present state of things should undoubtedly be ended, but in the manner provided; namely, by giving immediate notice to Great Britain of the intention of the United States to abrogate that convention at the expiration of a year.

Mr. Sevier considered that, the justice of the claims of the United States being admitted, there should be no delay in taking possession of the country claimed, for which the only means were, to provide an adequate amount of population within the shortest time. Not only should the lands be granted to them, and forts be built and garrisoned for their protection, but, if necessary, a railroad should be made from the Missouri to the Columbia, over which emigrants might be conveyed in two or three days.

Mr. McDuffie opposed the bill *in toto*. He insisted that its adoption would be a violation of the convention with Great Britain; as its tendency was, and could be, no other than to take possession of the country, and to make ready, by all means and appliances, to maintain that possession. It was an invitation to the citizens of the Union — not to carry on the fur trade, nor to do that which the convention permits — but to settle permanently. For such a measure he denied that any emergency then called. The question had slept for many years, whilst the United States were at the height of their prosperity; and it was most imprudent

to bring it up now, when their condition was far otherwise, and to brandish the sword in the face of a powerful opponent, when there was every probability that the matter might be arranged peaceably by negotiation. Great Britain had done nothing which indicated an intention to establish for herself an exclusive occupation: her forts were nothing more than stockades, made by her traders for their protection against Indians; and her subjects have interfered with American citizens only by underselling them in the commerce with the natives. He then proceeded to inquire what advantages the United States could derive from the territories of which it was proposed, at these hazards and costs, to take possession. He represented the whole region beyond the Rocky Mountains, and a vast tract between that chain and the Mississippi, as a desert, utterly without value for agricultural purposes, and which no American citizen should be condemned to inhabit, unless as a punishment; and he ridiculed the idea that steam could ever be employed to facilitate communications across the continent, between the Columbia countries and the states of the Union. The expenses which the passage of the bill must entail, would, he conceived, be incalculable, whilst no returns could be expected for them. The fur trade, if advantageous, could benefit only a few capitalists, for whose advancement the agriculture, commerce, and industry, of the whole republic should not be taxed. In conclusion, he entreated the Senate to pause — to wait a year, or two years, in order to see what might be done by peaceful means, and without a ruinous waste of resources.

Mr. Calhoun presented a summary of the ground of the claims of the United States and of Great Britain to the territories in question, and of the arrangements attempted, as well as of those made; and, reviewing the provisions of the bill, he conceived that it directly violated the subsisting convention on the subject between the two nations. The American government, it is true, does not, by this bill, confer grants of land upon its citizens, but it binds itself to do so; and that engagement forms a complete reality as to assuming possession. Upon examining all the acts of Great Britain, with regard to those countries, he could find nothing in them of equal extent and force; the act of Parliament of 1821 merely extends the jurisdiction of British laws over British subjects, and authorizes no possession. He could not but anticipate a breach of the peace with Great Britain, if the part of the bill then before the Senate, relating to grants of land, were carried

into effect; all its other provisions he regarded favorably, and he was resolved to contribute, so far as lay in his power, to the maintenance of all the rights of the United States which could be exercised conformably with the convention of 1827. He believed the possession of the countries of the Columbia to be important to the United States in many respects; but that the period was not come when their occupation should be attempted at the risk of a war with the most powerful nation of the earth. Time, he considered, would do more for the United States than they could do by immediate action themselves: the advance of their citizens over the western regions had been already rapid beyond all the calculations of the most sanguine statesmen; no extraordinary means were required from their government to accelerate it. He was desirous to give to the bill all the attention which its importance required; and he hoped that it would be recommitted to the committee on foreign relations, whose report would doubtless throw additional light on the subject.

Mr. Benton entered at length into the history of discovery and settlement on the west coasts of North America; reviewing, at the same time, the various conventions between civilized nations with regard to it. He considered the right of the United States to the whole territory, as far north as the 49th parallel of latitude, to be determined by the possession of Louisiana, the northern boundary of which he asserted to have been fixed at that parallel, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht. He painted in glowing colors the agricultural advantages of the territory, which he regarded as inferior in that respect to none in the world, and the importance of its rivers, which were, in his view, destined to serve as the channels for the conveyance of the teas and silks of China to the Atlantic regions of both continents. He strongly recommended the passage of the bill, and he was prepared for war, if necessary, rather than surrender any portion of the country in question.

Mr. Choate opposed the provision in the bill for grants of land; but in all other particulars he was entirely in favor of it. He contended that, agreeably to the convention of 1827, still subsisting, neither government, as a government, could do any thing to divest the citizens or subjects of the other of the enjoyment of the common freedom of the country; and if the subjects or citizens of either made establishments there, they did so at their own risk, and neither government was called to interfere. If this bill

were passed, its effect must be to hinder some part of the territory from being open, except as regards American citizens. He was willing that the United States should, as Great Britain had done, and as permitted by the convention, extend their jurisdiction over all the countries to which the bill applies, and erect forts where needed ; but not do more. If they had not done so earlier, it was to be attributed to their own supineness, not to the injustice of the other party. In conclusion, he considered the matter as open for negotiation, and that no time should be lost in terminating the questions at issue ; and, as the first step, he would recommend that notice be given to Great Britain of the intention of the United States to abrogate the existing convention at the end of a year.

Mr. Berrien objected to the bill proposed, on many grounds, as to its principles and its details. The question was one of the utmost gravity, — of a future empire, to be founded in the west, by the institutions and commerce of the United States, — a question with which weighty considerations are complicated, including an important compact with a foreign power. That power has its own views on this question, at variance with those of the United States, but in which she doubtless believes as fully. This bill, however, supposes all the right to be on the side of the Union, which is thus legislating upon an *ex parte* decision. The territory, which forms the subject of the discussion, is a barren and savage region, as yet unoccupied by the people of either nation, except for hunting, fishing, and trading with the natives ; all which are conducted freely and equally by the people of both nations, under the faith of a convention to that effect : and by the side of this compact a bill is placed, which assumes and engages to give the soil itself, and all that goes with it, not merely for the term of the duration of the convention, but “as long as the grass shall grow or the waters shall flow.” The patents, thus granted, would bar all British subjects from particular spots ; and the act of granting them, being a clear and positive appropriation, by the American government, of that domain, would certainly be a violation of the compact. It has been alleged that the patents are not immediate, but provisional ; that the government pledges itself to issue them to those entitled to receive them, at the end of five years : but there is no difference between these two forms of the act of a government — of a perpetual body ; the parties are put into present possession, and protection is promised to them there. The bill, moreover, violates the faith of the political contract at home,

by interfering with the treaty-making power of the executive. The adjustment of the matter by negotiation with Great Britain is only postponed, in order that it may be soon resumed, with a prospect of accommodation; and it is most inexpedient, at such a moment, to interfere with the legitimate organ of the government for such functions. Should the bill pass, it would warrant, in his opinion, the exercise, by the president, of the qualified *veto*, given to him by the constitution, for the protection of the peculiar prerogative of his office.

Mr. Archer directed his attention chiefly to what he considered as the two great points presented for consideration by this bill; namely, the consistency of the provision for granting allodial titles to lands in Oregon, with the stipulations of the convention of 1827; and the general policy of accelerating the settlement of that territory by the people of the United States. Upon the first point he showed, by reference to the proceedings and results of the several negotiations between the United States and Great Britain on the subject, that the *title* to the territory had been the only question discussed; that no agreement on that question had ever been attained; and that the two governments, finding it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, had, by the convention, dissoluble at the pleasure of either, left the country equally free to the people of both. The title was thus in suspense, and with it were suspended all the privileges flowing therefrom, except those of temporary use; most especially was suspended the right to grant a property in the soil; and if this were not the true meaning and intention of the agreement, it was vain and useless. No breach of the contract on the part of Great Britain had been proved; the people of that nation had indeed gained advantages in trade over the citizens of the United States: yet it was not by constraint or intimidation, but by greater dexterity in business, which involved no contravention of stipulations, and could authorize no contravention on the other side. If the present bill should become a law, the United States must be prepared to maintain and execute all its provisions; and Great Britain, though, like the United States, directly interested in the continuance of peace, would, if she viewed the measures in question as an infringement of the convention, stand upon that point, when she might not stand upon the value of the territory. War might be the consequence; and it was proper to consider on which side the advantages would be in the contest, and what would be its

results. In any case, whether or not war should ensue, the question of the possession of Oregon could only be decided by negotiation; and if, at the end of a war, the United States should obtain all that they here claim, it would be but a poor recompense for the evils and costs incurred. With regard to the policy of accelerating the settlement of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, by American citizens, Mr. Archer coincided nearly in opinion with Mr. McDuffie; he considered that territory as of little value to any nation; the part near the coast alone contained land fit for agricultural purposes, and there were no harbors which were or could be rendered tolerable. The United States had seven hundred millions of acres of land east of the Rocky Mountains still vacant, of which a large portion was more fertile and salubrious than any other lands, wherever they might be, even in Oregon; these should be occupied before the population could with reason be urged to establish themselves in the latter country. In conclusion, he had no objection to the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States to the Pacific, in the manner proposed by the bill, or to the erection of forts on the Columbia, if they should be found necessary; or to any other measure which might be taken, *pari passu*, with Great Britain, not inconsistent with reciprocal stipulations; but he should oppose the provision respecting grants of land, not only for the reasons already given, but also because it would tend to defeat the very object of the bill, namely, the ultimate possession of the country west of the Rocky Mountains by the United States.

To the objections thus made to his bill, Mr. Linn replied at length, displaying considerable ingenuity of argument, particularly with the object of showing that all which was thereby openly proposed had been already done in a covert manner by Great Britain. He dwelt on the great importance of the Oregon countries, — on the vast extent of lands on the Columbia and its tributary streams, which were said to exceed in productiveness any in the states of the Union, — and on the number and excellence of the harbors on those coasts, the use of which was imperatively required by the American whaling vessels employed in the adjacent ocean, — on the facility with which travel and transportation might be effected across the continent, by means of ordinary roads at present, and by railroads hereafter; and he produced a number of letters, reports, and other documents from various sources, confirming all these statements. Finally, he appealed to the honor

and generosity of the nation, for its protection to the American citizens already established in Oregon, who had gone thither in confidence that such aid would be extended to them, and were groaning under the oppressions of the Hudson's Bay Company.*

Previous to the final vote, Mr. Archer endeavored to have the clause respecting the grants of lands struck out; but his motion did not prevail, and on the 3d of February, 1843, the bill was passed by the Senate, twenty-four being for and twenty-two against it. It was immediately sent to the House of Representatives, in which a report against its passage was made by Mr. Adams, the chairman of the committee on foreign affairs; the session, however, expired without any debate on the subject in that House.

In order to determine whether the bill for the occupation of Oregon, passed by the Senate of the United States, in 1843, could, if it had become a law, have been carried into fulfilment without a breach of public faith, until after the abrogation of the existing convention with Great Britain, in the manner therein stipulated, it will be necessary first to analyze that convention, and to reduce the various permissions, requirements and prohibitions, involved in it, to their simplest expressions. The two nations, on agreeing, as by that convention, to leave the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, with its waters, free and open to the citizens and subjects of both, of course agreed that neither should exercise any exclusive dominion, or do any thing calculated to hinder the people of the other from enjoying the promised advantages in any part of that territory. Each nation, of course, reserved to itself the right to provide for the maintenance of peace and the administration of justice among its own citizens, and to appoint agents for that purpose: it was, indeed, the duty of each, as a civilized power, to do so without delay; and it was morally imperative upon them to enter into a supplementary compact for the exercise of concurrent jurisdiction, in cases affecting the persons or interests of subjects or citizens of both, unless provision to that effect should have already been made in some other way. Finally, as the country was inhabited by tribes of savages, the citizens and subjects of each of the civilized nations residing therein might

* This was destined to be the last effort of Mr. Linn for the advancement of the cause to which he had so long devoted his powerful energies. He expired on the 3d of October, 1843, at his residence in St. Genevieve, Missouri, without warning, and probably without a struggle.

take precautions for their defence against attacks from those savages, by military organization among themselves, and by the erection of the fortifications necessary for that special purpose; and it here again became the duty of the contracting parties to settle by compact the manner in which their governments might jointly or separately aid their people in such defence.

As the advantages offered to the citizens or subjects of the two nations are not defined, the terms of the convention relating to them are to be understood in their most extensive favorable sense; including the privileges, not only of fishing, hunting, and trading with the natives, but also of clearing and cultivating the ground, and using or disposing of the products of such labor in any peaceful way, and of making any buildings, dams, dikes, canals, bridges, roads, &c., which the private citizens or subjects of the parties might make in their own countries; under no other restrictions or limitations than those contained in the clause of the convention providing for the freedom and openness of the territory and waters, or those which might be imposed by the respective governments.

This appears to be the amount of the permissions, requirements, and prohibitions, of the convention; and, had the two governments done all that is here demanded, no difficulties could have been reasonably apprehended — so long, at least, as the territory in question remains thinly peopled. These things, however, have not all been done; not only has no supplementary compact been made between the two nations, but the government of the United States has neglected to secure the protection of their laws to their citizens, who have thus, doubtless, in part, been prevented from drawing advantages from the convention equal to those long since enjoyed by British subjects, under the security of the prompt and efficient measures of their government.

If this view of the existing convention between the United States and Great Britain, relative to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, be correct, and embrace all its permissions and prohibitions, neither of the parties could be justified, during the subsistence of the agreement, in ordering the erection of forts at the mouth of the Columbia, where they certainly are not required for protection against any third power, and in promising to secure large tracts of land in that territory, by patent, to its citizens or subjects. Had the bill passed by the Senate in 1843 become a law, the convention would from that moment have been virtually

and violently rescinded; and any attempt to enforce the measure would undoubtedly have been resisted by Great Britain. The abrogation of the convention, in the manner therein provided, or in some other way, by common consent of the parties, should precede all attempts, by either, to occupy any spot in the territory permanently; and whenever the government of either nation considers the time to be near, in which such occupation, by its own citizens or subjects, will be indispensable, it should endeavor to settle, by negotiation with the other power, some mode of effecting that object, before giving notice of its intention to abrogate the agreement; for such a notice can only be regarded as the announcement of the determination of the party giving it to take forcible possession of the territory at the end of the term.

The reports of the debates in the American Senate on the bill for the occupation of Oregon, reached England while the treaty, recently concluded at Washington, was under consideration in Parliament; and they did not fail to elicit some observations in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston, the late secretary for foreign affairs, and then leader of the opposition, pronounced that, if the bill should pass, and be acted on, it would be equivalent to a declaration of war, as it would be the invasion and seizure of a territory in dispute, by virtue of a decree made by one of the parties in its own favor. Mr. Macaulay, who had been the secretary of war under the previous administration, conceived that the fact of the passage of such a bill by the Senate, a body comprising among its members a large portion of the men of the greatest weight and most distinguished ability in the United States, showed a highly-excited condition of the public mind in that country. Mr. Blewitt quoted the words of one of the senators in the debate, as being a most violent attack on England: and he regarded the mode in which the matter had been dealt with in the Senate as an insult to his nation. Sir Robert Peel, the premier, in answer, simply stated, that communications of a friendly nature, on the subject of Oregon, were then going on between the two governments, a proposition having been addressed to the United States, for considering the best means of effecting a conciliatory adjustment of the questions respecting those territories; and that, if the bill introduced into the American Senate had passed both Houses of Congress, it would not have received the sanction of the executive, which had given assurances of its anxiety to settle those questions by negotiation.

This last declaration from Sir Robert Peel was confirmed by the president of the United States, in his message sent to Congress on the 5th of December following; and, in February, 1844, the Honorable Richard Pakenham arrived in Washington, as minister plenipotentiary from Great Britain, with full instructions to treat for a definitive arrangement of the disputed points relative to the countries west of the Rocky Mountains.*

In the mean time, the excitement in the United States with regard to the immediate occupation of Oregon, as well as the difficulties of effecting an amicable arrangement of the questions with Great Britain respecting that country, had increased and become more general. In each year since 1838, small parties of emigrants had set out from Missouri for the Columbia; but they had suffered so much on their way, from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and a dread of Indians, that few had reached the place of their destination, and those who returned to the United States gave accounts of their expeditions by no means calculated to induce others to follow them. On examining these accounts, however, it appeared that in all cases the parties had been insufficient in numbers, or were not provided with the requisite supplies, or were guided and commanded by incompetent persons; besides which, nothing like an assurance of protection, after they should have made their settlements, was afforded by their government. On the faith of the promise of such protection, held out by the passage through the Senate of the bill for the immediate occupation of Oregon, a thousand persons, men, women, and children, assembled at Westport, near the Missouri River, on the frontier of the state of Missouri, from which they began their march to Oregon, with a large number of wagons, horses, and cattle, in June, 1843.† They pursued the route along the banks of the Platte, and its northern branch, which had been carefully surveyed in the preceding year by Lieutenant Fremont, of the United States army,† to the South Pass, in the Rocky Mountains; thence through the valleys of the Green and Bear Rivers to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, called Fort Hall, on the Lewis; and thence, in separate parties, to the Willamet valley, where they arrived in October. Their journey, of more than two thousand miles, was, of course, laborious and fatiguing; they were subjected to many difficulties and privations, and seven of their party died on the way, from sickness

* Sir Robert Peel's speech in the House of Commons, February 5th, 1844.

† See the interesting report and map of Lieutenant Fremont, published by order of the Senate, in the spring of 1843.

or accident.* Their numbers and discipline, however, enabled them to set at defiance the Sioux and the Blackfeet, those Tartars of the American *steppes*, who could only gaze from a distance at the crowd of pale-faces leaving the sunny valleys of the Mississippi for the rugged wilds of the Columbia. Upon the whole, the difficulties were less than had been anticipated, even by the most sanguine partisans of the immediate occupation of Oregon; and the success of the expedition encouraged a still greater number to follow in 1844, before the end of which year the number of American citizens in Oregon exceeded three thousand.

The increase of the numbers of American citizens in Oregon was noticed by the president, in his Message to Congress of the 5th of December following, in which he repeated the assurance that every proper means would be used to bring the negotiation recently renewed with Great Britain to a speedy termination; and he strongly recommended the immediate establishment of military posts at places on the line of route to the Columbia. In the course of the session, each House of Congress received various memorials, petitions, and resolutions, from State legislatures, all urging the government to adopt measures for the immediate establishment of the right of the United States to the countries beyond the Rocky Mountains; and several bills having in view the same object were introduced and debated, though none of them were passed by either branch of the federal legislature. Of these bills, some were nearly identical with that which had been passed by the Senate in the preceding session; the others were to the effect, that notice should be immediately given to the British government of the intention of the United States to terminate the convention of 1827, in the time and manner therein provided. The debates were continued in both houses,

* It may be here remarked, that, on the 1st of July, 1843, while this crowd of men, women, and children, with their wagons, horses, and cattle, were quietly pursuing their way across the continent, to the regions of the lower Columbia, an article appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*—a journal commonly well informed, and fair in its views on American matters—in which it was affirmed, *ex-cathedra*, that—“*However the political questions between England and America, as to the ownership of Oregon, may be decided, Oregon will never be colonized overland from the United States.*” The Reviewer asserts that—“*The world must assume a new face, before the American wagons make plain the road to the Columbia as they have done to the Ohio;*” and he determines that—“*Whoever, therefore, is to be the future owner of Oregon, its people will come from Europe.*” This is not the first occasion, in which European predictions, implying doubts as to the energy of American citizens, and their capacity to execute what they have undertaken, have been contradicted by facts, so soon as uttered. The American emigrants reached Oregon by a road which nature has made as plain as that from the Atlantic to the Ohio; and no one will question their power to maintain themselves there, if any people can do so.

for some time, embracing not only all the questions connected with the claim of the United States to Oregon, but also incidentally, that respecting the north-eastern boundary of the Republic, which had been already settled by the treaty of Washington. The abrogation of the convention was defended, as a legitimate and unexceptionable means of opening Oregon to American citizens, from which they were now wholly excluded; and as offering to those desirous of emigrating thither, some guarantee of future protection by their government. It was opposed chiefly on the ground that a negotiation respecting the rights of the two claimant powers, was about to be opened, agreeably to an invitation from the American government; and that it would be impolitic if not improper and indecorous thus to determine what was declared to be a subject for discussion; as the notice of the intention to annul the agreement could only be interpreted as a direct assertion of absolute right, and of a resolution to maintain that right by force, if necessary, at the end of the period prescribed. The advocates of abrogation were averse to any further negotiations: contending that in all those entered into upon this subject, the United States had suffered, and that the British were only anxious to gain time, and thus to continue the exclusion of American citizens, until they could themselves occupy the whole territory: but if a negotiation should now be commenced it would end before the expiration of the period stated in the notice; when either some new arrangement would have been made, or it would be seen that Great Britain was resolved to contest the claim of the United States at all hazards. On the other hand it was insisted that the British could never occupy the country; that they could use it only for the fur trade, which was declining rapidly, and must speedily cease; and that Oregon would come into the possession of the Americans by quiet and silent emigration, as soon as could be reasonably desired, if not sooner. Equally different were the anticipations of the two parties, as to the results of a war with Great Britain, if it should be occasioned by the measure proposed; the one holding up defeat, devastation, destruction of commerce, and dissolution or dismemberment of the Union, as the probable consequences, while the other seemed to entertain no doubt that it would lead to the overthrow of the British dominions in North America.

At the commencement of the ensuing session of Congress, the President declared, in his message, that a negotiation had been formally begun, and was pending between the secretary of state and

her Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary, relative to the rights of the respective nations to Oregon. The report of the secretary of war, accompanying this message, contained a recommendation, for the establishment of a territorial government over the region traversed by the river Platte, between the States of Missouri and Arkansas on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, and for the formation of military posts on the line of route from those States to Oregon and California. Agreeably to this recommendation, bills were introduced into the House of Representatives for establishing such a government over the country above described, which was to be called the Nebraska Territory, and for extending the jurisdiction of its courts over Oregon ; but they were not made the subject of debate during the session. A bill for the immediate occupation of Oregon under a territorial government, and for abrogating the Convention of 1827, in the manner provided by that agreement, was however passed in the House of Representatives, but it was not discussed in the Senate. With regard to the measures last mentioned nothing will be here said, in addition to what has already been observed. The propositions for establishing a territorial government over the Nebraska country, and for extending the benefit of its laws to Oregon, appear to have combined every legislative provision required by present circumstances, to maintain the rights of the United States, and to ensure protection to their citizens beyond the Rocky Mountains. On the 19th of February, 1845, the President informed Congress, by a message, that considerable progress had been made in the negotiation with Great Britain, which had been carried on in a very amicable spirit, and there was reason to hope that it might be speedily terminated ; but nothing farther was communicated on the subject during that session, or during the extra session of the Senate in March.

The history of the western section of North America has now been brought down to as late a period as the information obtained respecting that part of the world could warrant. Accounts have been presented of all the expeditions, discoveries, settlements, and other events, worthy record, and of all the claims and pretensions advanced by civilized nations, and all the disputes, negotiations, and conventions between their governments, relative to these territories.

It has been shown that the discovery of the west coast of the continent, certainly as far north as the 49th degree of latitude,

and probably much farther, and of the western sides of the westernmost islands flanking that continent, between the 49th and 56th degrees, is due entirely to the Spaniards ; that these coasts were subsequently explored more minutely by the navigators of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States, previous to their more complete survey by the subjects of Great Britain under Vancouver ; after which, the vast territories of the interior, drained by the Columbia, were first traversed and examined by the citizens of the American Union, under Lewis and Clarke, in 1805-6. With regard to occupation, it has been proved conclusively, that no establishment whatever was made by any civilized people except Spaniards and Russians, in any part of the western section of North America, until 1806, when the first British post west of the Rocky Mountains was founded on the upper waters of Frazer's River, near the 54th degree of latitude ; and that the earliest establishments in the countries drained by the Columbia, which had been first discovered and first explored by the Spaniards and the citizens of the United States, were made in 1809 and the four succeeding years by the people of the latter republic.

Of the international questions, arising from these discoveries and settlements, the only serious one now remaining undetermined is that between the United States and Great Britain, involving nothing less than the right of possessing the vast territories of the Columbia, commonly called Oregon. Concerning this question, it has been shown, that the United States asserted their right against Great Britain in 1815, as founded upon the discoveries and settlements of their citizens, made prior to any by the other party ; and that having obtained by the Florida treaty, in 1819, all the titles of Spain to those countries, their government has ever since claimed the exclusive sovereignty over them, though it has more than once offered, for the sake of peace, to surrender to Great Britain all north of the 49th parallel of latitude. On the other hand, it has been shown that the British government first claimed the possession of the Columbia regions in 1815, on the ground of their having been early taken possession of in the name of their sovereign, and ever since considered as part of his dominions ; and then in 1824, in virtue of settlements alleged to have been made by British subjects, coeval with, if not prior to, any by American citizens ; after which, repeated and direct assertions of positive right, that power declared officially in 1826, — that she claimed no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of those territories, limiting her pretensions re-

specting them, to a right of joint occupancy with other states, agreeably to the Nootka Convention between herself and Spain, in 1790, and leaving the right of sovereignty in abeyance. On the claim of Great Britain, thus formally reduced to specific terms, it has been considered sufficient to show, that, agreeably to the usages of nations, and to the never-failing practice of that power, as maintained by her government, particularly in the negotiation with the United States in 1816, respecting the Newfoundland fishery,* the Nootka Convention expired in 1796, and has ever since remained a dead letter.

The British government cannot continue to uphold the subsistence of the Nootka Convention, upon which all its claims were thus made to rest, in 1827, without directly impugning its own declaration that "Great Britain knows no exception to the rule that all treaties are put an end to by a subsequent war between the same parties;" as well as the legality of its present occupation of the Falkland Islands, from which the British are excluded by that convention: nor can the United States and their government submit to such various interpretations of the same national law. From the negotiation now in progress, neither the records of the former discussions, nor subsequent events, nor the present state of the parties, encourage the hope for any definite settlement of the questions at issue, that is to say, of the boundaries west of the Rocky Mountains: though possibly some change in the existing convention, or some supplement to it may be effected, or more probably its immediate abrogation may be the consequence; and under this view it will be proper to present some concluding observations on the condition of the countries, and their inhabitants, subject to those stipulations.

The countries to which the convention of 1827 applies, have until a recent period, been, so far as regards the advantages derived from them, entirely in the possession of Great Britain; while the United States, the other party to that treaty, have only secured the continuance of their title unimpaired. The British represented first by the North-West Company, and afterwards by the Hudson's Bay Company, have enjoyed the quiet and almost exclusive use of the Columbia regions from 1814 to 1840. That the people of the United States did not participate in these advantages, doubtless arose principally from the circumstance, that they could render their ex-

* See page 318.

ertions more productive elsewhere ; and also probably because their government, from its nature, could not afford them assurances and facilities for organization, similar to those which have imparted so much vigor and efficiency to the operations of the British.

The Hudson's Bay Company thus assisted and protected in every way by its government, became a powerful body. The field for its labors was at once vastly increased by the license to trade, in exclusion of all other British subjects, in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, where the fur-bearing animals were more abundant than in any other part of the world ; while the extension of the jurisdiction of the Canada courts over the whole division of the continent, to which its charters apply, and the appointment of its own agents as magistrates, in those regions, gave all that could have been desired for the enforcement of its regulations. The arrangement made with the Russian American Company, through the intervention of the two governments, secured the most advantageous limits in the north-west ; and the position assumed by Great Britain, in the discussions with the United States, respecting Oregon, were calculated to increase the confidence of the Company, in the strength of its tenure of that country, and to encourage greater efforts.

In addition to the aid thus derived from government, the constitution of the Hudson's Bay Company is such as to secure knowledge and prudence in council, and readiness and exactness in execution. The proceedings of its directors, by whom all general orders and regulations are issued, and all accounts are comptrolled, are enveloped as much as possible, in secrecy ; all communications which are likely to be published, being expressed in terms of studied caution, and affording only the details absolutely required. The number of persons in its employ is small, considering the amount of duties performed by them ; the manner of their admission into the service, the training to which they are subjected, and the expectations held out to them, being calculated to render their efficiency and devotion to the general interests, as great as possible. The strictest discipline, regularity and economy are enforced throughout the Company's territories ; and the magistrates appointed under the act of parliament, for the preservation of tranquillity, are seldom called to exercise their powers, except in the settlement of trifling disputes.

In the treatment of the aborigines of these countries, the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have admirably combined and reconciled policy with humanity. The prohibition to supply them with

ardent spirits, appears to be rigidly enforced. Schools for the instruction of their children are established at all the principal trading posts, each of which also contains a hospital for sick Indians, and offers employment for those disposed to work, whilst hunting cannot be carried on. Missionaries of various sects are encouraged to endeavor to convert them to Christianity, and to induce them to adopt the usages of civilized life, so far as may be consistent with the nature of the labors required for their support; and attempts are made, at great expense, to collect them in villages, on tracts where the climate and soil are most favorable for agriculture. Particular care is extended to the education of the half-breed children, the offspring of the marriage or concubinage of the traders with the Indian women, who are retained, and bred as far as possible among the white people, and are employed, whenever they are found capable, in the service of the Company. As there are few or no white women in those territories, except in the Red River settlements, it may be easily seen that the half-breeds must in time form a large if not an important portion of the native population.

The conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company in these respects is certainly worthy of commendation. It is however to be observed, that of the whole territory placed under the authority of that body, either by its charter or by license, only a few small portions are capable of being rendered productive by agriculture: from the remainder of the country, nothing of value in commerce can be obtained except furs, and those articles can be procured in greater quantities and at less cost, by the labor of the Indians, than by any other means. There is, consequently, no object in expelling or destroying the natives who occupy no land required for other purposes and can never be dangerous from their numbers; while on the contrary, there is a direct and evident motive of interest to preserve and conciliate them, and the Company certainly employs the best methods to attain those ends. By the system above described, the natural shyness and distrust of the savages have been in a great measure removed; the ties which bound together the members of the various tribes have been loosened, and extensive combinations for any purpose have become impossible. The dependence of the Indians upon the Company is at the same time rendered entire and absolute; for having abandoned the use of all their former arms, hunting and fishing implements, and clothes, they can no longer subsist without the guns, ammunition, fish-hooks, blankets and other similar articles, which they receive only from the British traders.

The position of the Hudson's Bay Company towards these people, is thus wholly different from that of the East India Company, with respect to the Chinese; the motives of the former body to prohibit the introduction of spirits among the Indians, being no less strong than those of the latter, to favor the consumption of opium in China.

The course observed by the Hudson's Bay Company towards American citizens, in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, has been equally unexceptionable, and yet equally politic. All the missionaries and emigrants from the United States, and indeed all strangers from whatsoever country they might come, have been received at the establishments of the company on the Columbia with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and aided in the prosecution of their objects, so far and so long as those objects were not commercial. But no sooner did any one unconnected with the Company, attempt to hunt, or trap, or to trade with the natives, than all the force of the body was immediately turned towards him. There is no evidence or well-founded suspicion, that violent means have ever been employed by the company, directly or indirectly, to defeat the efforts of its rivals. Many American citizens have been murdered by the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains; but many more servants of the Hudson's Bay Company have suffered in the same way. Indeed, violent means would have been unnecessary on the part of the Company, whilst it enjoyed advantages so great over all other competitors in trade, by its organization, its wealth, and the knowledge of the country possessed by its agents. Wherever an American port has been established, or an American party has been engaged in trading on the Columbia, an agent of the Hudson's Bay has soon appeared in the same quarter, at the head of a number of experienced hunters, or with a large amount of specie or merchandise on hand, to be given to the Indians for furs, on terms much lower than the Americans could offer; and the latter, thus finding their labors vain, were soon obliged to retire from the field. Even without employing these extraordinary and expensive means, the British traders, receiving their goods in the Columbia by sea from London, free from duty, can always undersell the Americans, who must transport their merchandise more than two thousand miles over land, from the frontiers of the United States, where many of the articles best adapted for the trade have previously been subjected to import duties. In pursuance of the same system, the Company endeavors, and generally with success, to prevent the vessels of the

United States from obtaining cargoes on the north-west coasts of America ; though the mariners of all nations, when thrown upon these coasts by shipwreck or by other misfortunes, have uniformly received shelter and protection, at its posts and factories. On the other hand, the publications made by the directors and agents of the Hudson's Bay Company evince the most hostile feelings towards the citizens of the United States, against whom every species of calumny is levelled in those works, whilst, at the same time, all their efforts to establish themselves in Oregon are derided.*

Under these circumstances, the fur trade has, until recently, been very profitable to the Hudson's Bay Company ; but it is now certainly declining in every part of North America, from the diminution of the number of the animals, whilst the price of furs does not increase, in consequence of the advantageous employment of silk, cotton, and wool in their place, particularly in China. The Hudson's Bay Company endeavors to prevent this decrease of the animals in the countries east of the Rocky Mountains, by withdrawing its hunters and traders from certain districts in succession, during a number of years ; but in the Columbia countries, where its control is not exclusive, and its tenure of the soil is insecure, no precautions of this kind are observed, and many of its posts have therefore been reduced or abandoned.

As the fur trade in the Columbia regions declined, the Hudson's Bay Company began to turn its attention to agriculture, pasturage, cutting timber, fishing, and other pursuits, for which persons were introduced from Canada or from Europe, and extensive establishments have been formed in several places. From the use or exportation of these products, some revenue is saved or gained, but it is evident that capital thus invested can yield but slender returns, and no other modes for its employment are offered at present in Oregon, or further north. Those countries, indeed, contain lands in de-

* See History of the Oregon Territory and British American Fur Trade, by John Dunn, 8vo. London, 1844, a compound of ridiculous blunders, vulgar ribaldry, and infamous calumnies, against the United States and their citizens. In blind and ferocious hatred of the Americans, Mr. Dunn, ex-storekeeper at Fort Vancouver, may indeed claim equality with His Exc'y Charles Powlett Thompson, Lord Sydenham, some time President of the Board of Trade of Great Britain, and subsequently Governor and Captain-General of Canada. See the memoirs and letters of this latter worthy, published by his brother, and also the admirable remarks on that work by Lord Brougham, in his Historical Sketches of the Statesmen of the time of George III. It will be borne in mind that the letters containing these libels were addressed by Lord Sydenham to the British ministers, his former colleagues in office ; and that they are published by his attached relative as evidences of his character, and as claims to the admiration of his countrymen.

tached portions, which may afford to the industrious cultivator the means of subsistence, and also, in time, of procuring some foreign luxuries; but they produce no precious metals, no cotton, no coffee, no rice, no sugar, no opium; nor are they, like India, inhabited by a numerous population, who may be easily forced to labor for the benefit of a few.

With regard to colonization — it has been already said that a very small proportion of the territories belonging to, or held under license by the Hudson's Bay Company, is capable of being rendered productive by cultivation. The only place east of the Rocky Mountains, in which attempts have been made to found permanent agricultural settlements, is on the Red River, between the 49th parallel of latitude, there forming the northern boundary of the United States, and Lake Winnipeg, into which that river empties. Of the cession of this country by the Hudson's Bay Company to Lord Selkirk, and the unfortunate results of his first efforts to colonize it, accounts have been already given. New efforts, with the same object, but with no better results, were afterwards made by the son and successor of that nobleman; and the territory was at length, in 1836, retro-ceded to the Company, which has, with much difficulty and expense, established on it about six thousand persons, nearly all of them Indians and half-breeds, under what conditions as to tenure of the soil, is not known.* The land produces wheat, rye, potatoes,

* Mr. Pelly, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a letter addressed on the 10th of February, 1837, to Lord Glenelg, the British secretary for the colonies, says, "This rising community, if well governed, may be found useful at some future period, in the event of difficulties occurring between Great Britain and the United States of America, who have several military posts, say those of the Sault Saint Mary, Prairie du Chien, and the River Saint Peter's, established on their Indian frontiers, along the line of boundary with British North America." On the other hand, Mr. Thomas Simpson, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, in his interesting account of the discoveries effected by himself and his companion, Dease, in 1838 and 1839, states that the settlers on the Red River have "found out the only practicable outlet for their cattle and grain, in the fine level plains leading to the Mississippi and the St. Peter's, where there is a promise of a sufficient market among the Americans," particularly as "the bulky nature of the exports, a long and dangerous navigation to Hudson's Bay, and above all, the roving and indolent habits of the half-breed race, who form the mass of the population, and love the chase of the buffalo better than the drudgery of agriculture, or regular industry, seem to preclude the possibility of this colony rising to importance." He moreover adds, that the Scotch, who compose a small, but the only useful portion of the community, carefully avoid all amalgamation with the others; in order to prevent which, they generally retire to the United States, as soon as they have by industry and economy accumulated a moderate amount of property. There being fortunately no prospect of "difficulties occurring between Great Britain and the United States," we may hope that the little colony on the Red River, will flourish, and profit by its vicinity to the great state of Iowa.

hemp, flax, and some other vegetables, and grass for cattle, tolerably well, and it may be considered fertile when compared with other parts of the continent situated so far north : it is, however, deficient in wood, and notwithstanding all the advantages held out to the inhabitants, there is no prospect that it will ever become profitable or useful, either to the Hudson's Bay Company or to the British government; in any way ; and least of all, " in the event of difficulties occurring between Great Britain and the United States of America," to provide for which seems to be one of the objects of the Company in fostering it.

There is no reason to believe that the British government has made grants of any nature in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, except that to the Hudson's Bay Company, which is merely a license to use those countries, in common with American citizens. The company has however allowed many settlements to be formed by its retired servants ; and has also encouraged associations of British subjects, its own servants and others, to make establishments for farming and grazing on a large scale. The earliest of these establishments were in the valley of the Willamet, south of the Columbia, where the British were soon outnumbered by the Americans, and now compose a very inconsiderable part of the population. The larger establishments, besides those at Fort Vancouver, are situated in the prairies about Bulfinch's Harbor, and around Nasqually, one of the Company's posts at the southern extremity of Puget's Sound, and near the head waters of the Cowelitz River, midway between Nasqually and Vancouver. On what terms these establishments have been founded is not publicly known ; it may however be supposed that they would not have been undertaken without some assurance from the British Government, that the persons interested would be maintained and protected, or in any event be indemnified for their expenses and labors.

Of the American citizens in Oregon very little can be said as yet. They are all engaged in agriculture and other matters immediately connected with that branch of industry ; and according to the most recent accounts, have established for themselves a provisional system of government, according to the constitution of their native republic. With their neighbors of the Hudson's Bay Company, they seem to live on good terms, and will probably so continue as long as the Columbia River separates the territories occupied by the two parties. The Americans will have no objection to settlers from any quarter : but it may be doubted whether their attempts to extend their estab-

lishments and laws to the country north of that river will be quietly borne by the British ; and it is scarcely possible that the two populations should remain at peace much longer, without some change in the relations of their governments, with regard to that part of the world.

In California, the number of Americans is large and is daily increasing, particularly in the region north of the Bay of San Francisco, formerly occupied by the Russians, who, in 1841, ceded all their property and claims to a company composed chiefly of citizens of the United States. The Americans seem to live on very good terms with the Mexicans, and to give themselves little concern about the government, of the unfriendly feelings of which towards them, they are occasionally reminded, by a decree for their expulsion. These decrees, the Governor of the Territory contents himself with proclaiming, as it would be madness in him to attempt to enforce them, whilst he is obliged to depend almost entirely on the Americans, to suppress the incursions of the surrounding Indians. When it is also remembered, that Monterey is as far from the capital, and centre of effective power in Mexico as Washington, it appears very improbable, if not impossible, that California should long remain in the hands of its present owners. Offers have more than once been made by the United States to purchase it, at prices which may be termed liberal ; but they have been always rejected by Mexico ; and similar propositions have, it is said, been presented on the part of Great Britain. That the United States will quietly submit to the transfer of this territory to any other power, is not to be expected ; and the Mexican government should be well assured of support, before it ventures to consummate such an act.

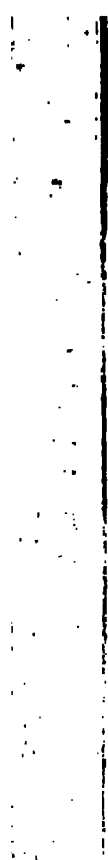
On reviewing dispassionately the agricultural, commercial, and other economical advantages of Oregon, there appears to be no reason founded on such considerations, which should render either of the powers claiming the possession of that country anxious to occupy it immediately, or unwilling to cede its own pretensions to others for a moderate compensation. But political considerations, among which are always to be reckoned not only those proceeding from just, patriotic, and philanthropic views, but also those which are the offspring of national and individual ambition, jealousy and hatred, ever have proved, and doubtless will in this case prove paramount to the others. It is the unobjectionable, and indeed imperative policy of the United States, to secure the possession of those territories, in order to provide places of resort and refresh-

ment for their numerous vessels, engaged in the trade and fishery of the Pacific, particularly as there is a prospect that they may in time be excluded from the Sandwich Islands; and also to prevent those territories from falling into the hands of any other power, which might direct against their western frontiers the hordes of Indians roving through the middle and westernmost divisions of the continents. Great Britain, on the other hand, can have no motive for opposing the occupation of Oregon by the United States, except that of checking their advancement, by excluding their vessels from the Pacific, and by maintaining an influence deleterious to their interests and safety, over the savages in their vicinity.

Great Britain, at present, possesses the advantage, as regards the forcible and temporary occupation both of Oregon and California, where a few ships of war stationed in the Bay of San Francisco, the Columbia, and Puget's Sound, might doubtless control the American settlements, all necessarily situated in the vicinity of the coast, and receiving nearly all their supplies of foreign articles by sea. But that she should, within any period which it is now possible to foresee, furnish a population to the regions in question, there are certainly no grounds for supposing. Her provinces in America have no redundancy of inhabitants; and what inducements can be offered in good faith to her subjects in Europe, for undertaking a voyage of six months to the Columbia, or a voyage to Canada and a subsequent journey of four thousand miles through her wild and frozen *Indian territories*, so long as the West Indies, Southern Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and, lastly — the United States — are open to them? The difficulties experienced by American citizens, in their passage to Oregon, along the valleys of the Platte and the Lewis, great though they may be at present, sink into insignificance, when compared with those which British subjects must encounter, in proceeding to that country, by either of the routes above indicated: and the contrast becomes still stronger, when we compare the character and habits of Americans, trained from their childhood to struggle and provide against the hardships and privations incident to the settlement of a new country, with those of Europeans, accustomed only to a routine of labor the most simple, and the least calculated to nourish energies or to stimulate invention.

END OF THE HISTORY.

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GENERAL INDEX.

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